SOCIAL SCIENCES ✓


# NATIONAL REVIEW

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*March 21, 1956*

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION


## *Mr. Eisenhower's Decision*

WM. F. BUCKLEY, JR.

## *The Poujade Movement*

JULES MONNEROT

## *An Honest Union*

MADELYN VIETH

*Articles and Reviews by* · · · · · · JOHN CHAMBERLAIN
RODNEY GILBERT · WILLMOORE KENDALL · RUSSELL KIRK
F. A. HARPER · C. DICKERMAN WILLIAMS · SAM M. JONES

#18

# *from* WASHINGTON *straight*

## A NEWSLETTER

SAM M. JONES

Retreat

Enemies of Vice President Nixon are talking softly, and no big stick is in evidence at the moment. Whether they really accept Nixon's renomination is another matter. General Lucius Clay, Paul G. Hoffman and Sidney J. Weinberg (anti-Nixonites of eloquence and authority) appear to be forgetting their hostility, or at least concealing it. But most observers believe that an undercover fight will go on—up to the convention.

Bricker Amendment

A simplified version of the Bricker Amendment, drafted by Senator Dirksen and bearing Bricker's endorsement, is ready for Senate debate. The substitute amendment was approved 11 to 2 in the Judiciary Committee, with two members not voting. Democrats in favor of the amendment were Olin Johnston, McClellan, Daniel, O'Mahoney and Eastland. Republicans: Dirksen, Walker, Jenner, Butler, Watkins and Langer. Opposed: Democrats Hennings and Kefauver. Not voting: Republican Wiley and Democrat Neeley. The decision on calling the amendment up for a vote rests with the Democratic Policy Committee.

Boomerang?

The growing fear on Capitol Hill is that the "lobbying" smear by innuendo, and the possibility of being subpoenaed à la Keck by a Lobbying Investigating Committee, will greatly diminish the financial contributions so vital to a successful campaign. As one legislator put it: "We may be cutting a lot of throats — our own."

Play It Down

Speaking of campaign contributions, David J. McDonald, head of the United Steelworkers' union, contributed $5,000 to Alben Barkley's 1954 Senatorial campaign. Roy L. Reuther (brother of Walter) kicked in another $5,000. The CIO-PAC donated an equal amount.

Headline Hunt?

Military experts and scientists are in violent disagreement with Senator Stuart Symington, a stand-by candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination and chairman of a Senate subcommittee investigating the U.S. missile program. He recently stated: "Apparently the United States has given up any effort to rival the Soviet in fighter production. Are we also giving up in bomber production?" In contrast, General Curtis E. LeMay declares: "It is not likely that any major attack could be made on the United States without the aggressor nation suffering disaster."

Air Force Secretary Quarles, one of America's foremost scientists, testifying on February 23 on guided missiles, said: "I regard as highly misleading and highly damaging to our whole position the line of publicity that says, 'This is an ultimate weapon, that we have no defense against it'... Faced as we are by the possibility that somebody will say, 'Why do you not throw up your hands . . . ' we are recognizing it as a very potent addition to our arsenal, but we are not recognizing it as a weapon that will revolutionize warfare, whichever side gets it first."

Outlook in the South

Charles Lucey, of Scripps-Howard, one of the relatively few Washington correspondents who go out and find out, reports: "It is not out of the question that a really sizeable defection in the South — in the event of a close race giving neither candidate a majority of the electoral college — could throw the choice of a President into the House. . . . It could happen if the Democratic convention were to name a liberal candidate devoted to a militant civil rights program."

Dulles' Stock Down

John Foster Dulles' peripatetic secretaryship gives the White House palace guard greater opportunities for meddling in affairs of state. This and similar charges have been more vehement here than usual because of the crisis in the Middle East. Many members of Congress are protesting the Secretary's absence from Washington at a time when Marines are being dispatched to the Middle East to protect American lives and property. This development, coming on the heels of Mr. Dulles' recent super-optimistic statements to Congress, is diminishing an already waning prestige.

# NATIONAL REVIEW

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

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# *The WEEK*

**Early reports from the Karachi** meeting of the South-East Treaty Organization (SEATO) indicate a political attitude considerably clearer and more realistic than had been expected. Apparently Mr. M. S. A. Baig, Pakistan's Foreign Secretary, put the issues of Kashmir and the Afghan border bluntly. In spite of doubt expressed by the British representative, Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd, the meeting supported the Pakistani point of view. In line with the UN resolution that has been flouted by India, it called for a plebiscite in Kashmir. It rejected the Afghan proposal for a new Pathan nation carved mostly out of Pakistan. Thus, while giving a demonstration of support for one of its own principal members, it was at the same time bluntly countering the Soviet position as announced by Khrushchev and Bulganin during their Asian tour.

**At Long Island University's** Charter Day Dinner, George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO, delivered another of his cogent, intelligent talks on foreign affairs. Criticizing the State Department's overoptimistic current estimate of the world situation, Mr. Meany went at length into the problem of Tito. He observed that while we have been giving a billion dollars worth of economic and military aid to Yugoslavia, Tito has moved steadily "on his way into the arms of Khrushchev." Mr. Meany concluded, "The time has come for our State Department to re-examine the entire problem of further American aid to the Tito regime. Let the American people be told just how the arming and feeding of the 1956 model of the Tito dictatorship with American dollars have helped the cause of peace and freedom."

**As the President continues** his correspondence with Premier Bulganin, most lately with a proposal to freeze the quantity of nuclear bombs at their present level, we find ourselves increasingly confused. Are these proposals being made with the serious expectation that they might be accepted, and that they are enforceable, if accepted? Are they maneuvers in a campaign of psychological warfare? Are they designed for domestic political consumption? We hope that our confusion about their precise significance is shared by Moscow—but not by Washington.

**There are a good many** reasonable and persuasive arguments against the seniority system in Congress. But the ad hoc campaign against elevating Senator Eastland to the chairmanship of the Senate Judiciary Committee to which, under the system, he is entitled, did not rest on any such arguments. What Senators Morse and Lehman more or less urged on their colleagues, lusty civil libertarians that they are, was a Bill of Attainder against Mr. Eastland. We predict a similar effort, smoother in operation, if the Republicans organize the Senate next January, for Senator McCarthy is still the ranking Republican on the Government Operations Committee.

**We might have expected it.** While the rest of the world talks about the weather, Russia announces she is going to do something about it. The USSR plans to warm up Siberia, no less. Radio Moscow discloses a Soviet intention to take the chill off the Arctic air by means of atomic pumps which will create warm currents, Gulf Stream style. This piece of Soviet ingenuity is assured of a warm welcome by one segment of the population at least—the frozen millions now laboring in sub-zero weather at Soviet correction camps.

**A local girls' preparatory** school, in an effort to establish beyond peradventure its belief that *all* sides of every issue should be openly discussed, recently posted a topic for debate which represents a solid advance down the road of academic freedom: "Resolved, that Senator McCarthy's un-American activities are justified." There, now. Can any little witch hunter object to that?

**The United Nations has proposed** the institutionalization of a nobility all its own—some titles to bestow on the natural aristocracy of World Cooperation. We are for the idea and we nominate for early gartering Sir Ralph Bunche, Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, and Henry Cabot Lord Lodge. And something *very* special for India's head of atomic energy research, who, as things stand, is just plain Dr. Homi J. Bhabha. Sir Homi J. Bhabha would help; or, to really put on the dog, Sir Homi, Earl of Bhabha.

**Militant union leaders** in the West will, we know, raise an eyebrow over the news that in Communist Poland the "union shop" is regarded as *de trop*. There is no need for it, says Editor Boleslaw Gebert of the Polish trade union daily *Glos Pracy,* in a country where "industry is run for the welfare of the people" and "unions are guaranteed full liberty to carry out all of their activity without hindrance." Instead of high-pressure methods to induce the new mass of industrial workers to join the unions, Comrade Gebert says, "We prefer to educate them as to the benefits of union organization, to let them learn the advantages of the union." As educators Comrade Gebert and his associates are marvelously effective. More than 80 per cent of the Polish workers, having duly "learned the advantages of the union," are now dues-paying members. The educationally retarded 20 per cent, we dare predict, are in for a rather painful graduate course in the advantages of syndicalism.

**The New York Teachers Guild** (Local 2 of the American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO) has voted the John Dewey Award for "outstanding service to education" to President George Meany and Vice President Walter Reuther of the AFL-CIO. We hereby propose that McNamara's Fife and Drum Corps, Local 124 of the American Federation of Musicians (Brooklyn, N. Y.) bestow an Albert Schweitzer award for outstanding service in increasing the understanding of Bach cantatas to James C. Petrillo.

**On March 6**, the *New York Times* got around to printing an interesting bit of news: an address by Commodore Matthew Galbraith Perry, March 6, 1856, predicting an eventual mighty battle in Asia between America and Russia, on whose issue "will depend the freedom or the slavery of the world." The *Times* of that day ignored the Commodore's prophecy. Possibly after another century it will get around to reporting that in the first stages of that "mighty battle" the cause of freedom lost because American leaders lacked the zeal, resolution and intelligence to defend it.

## *The Brainwashable POW*

The February 24 issue of *U.S. News and World Report* features an interview with an army psychiatrist, Major William E. Mayer, who has arrived at a number of startling conclusions after closely studying the careers of about one thousand American prisoners of war in Korea. A very small percentage of American POW's went over, actively, to the enemy; the incidence was not extraordinarily high. What is cause for national concern, says Major Mayer, is that *an estimated one third* succumbed in varying degrees to Communist propaganda and became, in due course, totally demoralized. The relative ease with which so many Americans were induced to accept the premises of Communism and Communism's broad indictment of Western society indicates the great intellectual and emotional failure of America to convince its citizens of its value.

One third of the captive soldiers succumbed to brain-washing techniques because in every way they were softer than their Communist opponents. They were soft physically, soft mentally, soft morally, soft

on both military and self discipline, and soft on education. And their greatest weakness was the last. They simply didn't know anything about American Democracy—about our politics, our economics, our history, our system of checks and balances—about America itself, in sum. When the Communists spoke about sweatshop conditions, about the plight of Negro sharecroppers, about Wall Street imperialists who plotted the Korean war, our soldiers had no answers —even in their own minds.

These failures, the Major believes, are attributable to the general aimlessness of American education, its technical incompetence, and a general de-emphasis on nationalism so indiscriminate as to have worked not merely against nationalism of the jingoistic variety, but against patriotism itself.

One hopes, ruefully, that the National Education Association, or the PTA, or the Friends of the Public Schools, etc., will surcease from their labors to expand the physical plant of American education, to consider these problems, and concern themselves with the fact that one out of three graduates seems to be a pushover for Communism.

## *None So Blind . . .*

Recently, an editor of a Catholic weekly magazine (*America*), who is also a priest, delivered a lecture at Fordham University (at an Interracial Conference). Some portions of that address are based on points of view which, in our opinion, do about as much as can possibly be done to obstruct an understanding of the issue the South is confronting, and to polarize the warring camps.

The speaker said, "The whole world has its eyes on us. It had its eyes on Tuscaloosa all this month . . . [The world] will note and remember only that at a critical moment we denied our democratic principles and resisted our own laws in a passion of race hatred . . . What must be the effect on the non-white peoples of the world when they read that our Supreme Court ruled that we proceed with all 'deliberate speed' to end the segregation of races, and then learn that a United States Senator on February 10, 1956, spoke of the Court's decision as 'judicial tyranny by a nine-man oligarchy'? . . . Surely the Senator must see that he cannot effectively oppose subversion one day in Washington if soon after in Montgomery, Alabama, he aligns himself with those who promote it."

The stubborn refusal of most non-Southerners to recognize the nature of the South's resistance may lead to tragedy. What happened at the University of Alabama was not caused by a "passion of race hatred." Autherine Lucy was not the villain of Tuscaloosa; a six-foot-four blond Caucasian was—Chief Justice Earl Warren, the man who headed up the "nine-man oligarchy" against which Senator Eastland inveighs.

Let us say it again, as simply as possible. 1) The South believes that segregation is the answer to a complex situation not fully understandable except to those who live with it. (The issue here is not *whether* it is the answer, merely the fact that the South *believes* it to be.) Any suggestion, made to a Southerner, that segregation is in fact a manifestation of "race hatred" elicits from him an expression of sheer wonderment. 2) For seventy-five years, the Supreme Court, asked to pass on one or another aspect of segregation, upheld its constitutionality, both expressly and by implication. 3) Suddenly, in May of 1954, the Court holds segregated schooling to be unconstitutional. It is a demonstrable historical fact that many of the states which ratified the 14th Amendment did not intend it to prohibit segregated schools. There is no doubt, in the minds of Southerners, that the Court's 1954 ruling is not an interpretation of the Constitution but a venture in social legislation. And the South intends to do its own social legislating.

To suggest that opposition to that ruling is in the hands of brute racists indulging an anarchic passion to smash an underprivileged race is worse than unreasonable; it is uncharitable. To the editor in question, we commend a little *epicheia*. And refer him back to the passage from the Bible with which he opened his address: "God has shown me that I should not call any man common or unclean . . ."

## *The Vice Presidency*

Continuing doubts over Mr. Eisenhower's health, together with Republican confidence that the President will be re-elected, combine to make the Vice-Presidential race the most significant in our history. Unfortunately, the fight for the Republican Vice-Presidential nomination will be smothered beneath the blanket of the President's acceptance. It will be difficult for the Party rank and file to make its voice heard. The state primaries will be mere plebiscites with foregone results. It is too bad that they cannot serve as meaningful contests for the Vice Presidency. Still, there remain some channels through which Party opinion can gain some expression and exert some pressure; and others should be sought.

Richard Nixon, as the incumbent, has the easiest right of way. Chairman Leonard Hall's pro-Nixon announcements—though hard to reconcile with his position as the paid organizational director of the Party as a whole—show that the professionals prefer to keep the Full Letter team. But the appetite of Sherman Adams and the Party's Liberal wing is voracious. Al-

though they will accept Mr. Nixon if the President compels them to, they will ditch him if they possibly can. At the moment they are making soundings with the name of Governor Christian Herter.

## *A Bad Risk*

Some people have bad accident records and make poor insurance risks; others are barred through physical disability. Ismail Ege's trouble is that he is considered assassination-prone. The former Soviet major, who recently testified that the Soviet News Agency Tass is an espionage outfit, says he can't get a life insurance policy. American insurance companies obviously believe that the life expectancy of a Soviet apostate even here, in the land of the free and the brave, is about as ephemeral as the Geneva smile. As actuaries, not diplomats—they reckon that there is an uninsurable possibility that the MVD may wipe out the Ege menace as efficiently as, in the past, it wiped out Trotsky, Krivitsky and other ex-Soviet luminaries.

Isn't there one insurance company in the United States which is confident the Communists are, in their mellowness, done with assassinations? If not, is there one which will insure Mr. Ege as a non-materialist gesture of gratitude for his courage in fleeing a materialist world?

## *Bricker Amendment, Chapter II*

The Senate Judiciary Committee has approved a new and simplified version of a constitutional amendment designed to assure constitutional control over the treaty-making power.

The new wording is short: "A provision of a treaty or other international agreement which conflicts with any provision of this Constitution shall not be of any force or effect." The sponsors are perhaps oversanguine in believing that an amendment to this effect will, of itself, solve the difficulties and meet the dangers which they have in mind. An alert public opinion, a responsible Congress, and a willingness on the part of the Supreme Court to accept stricter limits to its judicial role, are also needed. But the very act of adopting such an amendment would undoubtedly serve to impress on public opinion, Congress and the Courts the gravity of the issues at stake and the determination of the American people to preserve their traditional form of government.

The principal opposition to the new version of the amendment comes from the same old sources—the heaviest from those who support the development toward one or another formula for world government; and from those who want bigger and bigger government, dominated by the Executive. That these two groups—which largely overlap—should oppose such an amendment is natural enough. Executive supremacy (as against diffused and balanced power) and world government (that is, surrender of national sovereignty) conflict with the constitutional principles upon which our nation is founded; and the proposed amendment is designed to protect the exposed treaty-making flank of the Constitution.

As in the past, an important argument of the opposition is the reiterated claim that the amendment is "unnecessary" because everyone grants what it declares. In which case adopting it could do no harm, and it becomes hard to understand why its opponents are so bitter, and so vigorous in their campaign to defeat it.

Although most members of Congress have indicated that they favor some form of the Bricker Amendment, the chances for a two-thirds congressional vote this year are doubtful, particularly if the President opposes it. But even if success does not come this year, the continuing fight for the principle has a substantial practical effect in restraining the misuse of the treaty-making power.

## *Liberal Switcheroo*

Any citizen who strikes out hard at fellow-traveling, even when practised by professors, divines, and artists, is in for it. There is blood all over the place as the result of the Patriotic Council of Dallas calling attention to the fact that four paintings to be exhibited at a "Sports in Art" show, sponsored by *Sports Illustrated* and scheduled to open at the Dallas Art Museum later this month, are by artists with impressive Communist-front records.

In a matter of hours, the Council found itself stigmatized as a "collection of hate groups," as "lacking in the principles of fair play," acting as "judge and jury" on the basis of "unauthenticated records of the House Un-American Activities Committee," etc., etc.

*Time* magazine rushed to the aid of its sibling by undertaking to "investigate" the charges against the four artists involved—Leon Kroll, Ben Shahn, William Zorach, and the late Yasuo Kuniyoshi. The charges, *Time* found, solemnly, are groundless.

*Time* found that its own morgue contained no evidence that the four were Communists or had ever been investigated by a congressional committee. (*Time* has the *darndest* morgue, as anyone who recalls the morgue's adventures with Gustavo Duran will recall.) Then, entirely overlooking the findings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities which does, in fact, cite the Communist-front affiliations of all four, *Time* based its clearance on the files of the Subversive Activities Control Board (SACB).

"The Subversive Activities Control Board," wired *Time's* Harry Phillips, reassuringly, to the Trustees of the Dallas Museum, "has a huge file listing almost every one mentioned in its lengthy hearings on the Communist Party in the U.S. . . . None of the artists is listed in the file."

The Patriotic Council promptly wrote to the SACB, and elicited the following from its Executive Secretary, Charles C. Wise, Jr.:

> It is true that the four artists named . . . are not listed in our file of persons referred to in the Communist Party hearings. However, this fact has as little significance in establishing whether or not they have Communist Party or Communist-front affiliation as it would have in establishing their artistic competence or lack of it.

So the matter stands. With characteristic skill, the Liberals have maneuvered the controversy away from the question whether the Patriotic Council accurately charged the artists involved with adamant fellow-traveling, over to another arena where a battle is to be fought between defenders of "reason, decency and real Americanism" and a "lone star brand . . . [of] esthetic vigilantes." That's the way the *New York Times* characterizes the opposing factions; so that, of course, is the way it will have to be.

## *Snapshot from Utopia*

The "yes-but-on-the-other-hand" school of anti-Communism leans heavily on the implications of one supposition: that Communism, though it violates man's dignity, serves abundantly his material cravings. Messrs. Chester Bowles, Elmer Davis and other teachers in the Liberal school of "anti-Communism" keep telling us that unless we outbid the material charms of Communism, the world in general, and Asia in particular, will turn Red.

For this (and many another) reason, we are always glad to receive revealing accounts of the material performance of Communism. The latest information comes straight from *Pravda* (December 17, 1955) and it concerns life in the city of Semipalatinsk (Karakhistan):

> For many years now almost no dwellings have been built in Semipalatinsk. . . Semipalatinsk is on the banks of the Irtysh. But, no matter how strange it may seem, the inhabitants of the city suffer a water shortage, particularly in the summer months. In the winter a large part of the city does not receive electricity; the streets, particularly on the outskirts, at night are plunged in darkness. The population of Semipalatinsk is also dissatisfied with the poor functioning of the bath, laundry and other . . . . facilities. . . . There have been not a few complaints about the slipshod functioning of the city transport, post and telephone. . . . Commercial, restaurant and medical facilities are poorly organized in the city. In Semipalatinsk there are few duty stores [open in the evenings], commerce in bread is carried on unsatisfactorily. It is difficult to buy vegetables and articles of daily consumption in the stores; instead they arrive in large quantity in the hands of speculators.

## *Local Newsletter Talks Back*

We are struck by the eloquence, simplicity and vigor of a modest newsletter recently established in New Jersey by Mr. William H. Smullen. It is devoted to news of New Jersey, Mr. Smullen emphasizes in the first number. "We have examined many newsletters," he notes, "and they all have one defect in common. While they do an excellent job of reporting on national issues, none has made any attempt to localize its appeal." Wisely, Mr. Smullen intends to focus on his own state, and his first issue makes important observations about important doings in that state.

We were particularly impressed by the declared "Statement of Purpose of the News Letter." "Because of the fact that important segments of the American press are either indifferent to the Communist-Socialist conspiracy operating in our midst or ignorant of its true nature," it said, "a band of alert Americans have turned to pamphleteering in order to bring suppressed truths to their fellow citizens. Their small publications, shining in the darkness like so many candles, have given the people light. They have also generated enough heat to make the conspirators uncomfortable." Clearly this one will, and anyone who wants to share in the experience—or to learn how a small group in one state proposes to talk back—can send one dollar for a four-months subscription to The Patriot, Box 272, Orange, N. J.

***Editorial Coverage of Hughes Case: A Partial Box Score***
***(Brought up to date)***

***Newspapers***
**New York Herald Tribune: no comment**
**New York Post: no comment**
**New York Times: no comment**

***Columnists***
**Joseph and Stewart Alsop: no comment**
**Marquis Childs: no comment**
**Roscoe Drummond: no comment**
**Doris Fleeson: no comment**
**Murray Kempton: no comment**
**Drew Pearson: no comment**
**Thomas L. Stokes: no comment**

# The Liberal Line...

WILLMOORE KENDALL

**Let's talk this week** about what the Liberal line *might* do in future. And let's start out — as sound method in political theory requires us to do — with the empirical facts, which are as follows:

—Dwight Eisenhower, though recognizably a Liberal, is *not* the Liberal propaganda machine's favorite kind of Liberal;

—from the machine's point of view Eisenhower as candidate and Eisenhower as President are two very different things: it values him as candidate because his candidacy means another Liberal-versus-Liberal election, with the Liberals winning either way; it values him as President — over against, say Adlai Stevenson — only as a *pis aller;*

—the machine would therefore like, other things being equal, for the Democratic candidate to nose Eisenhower out in November (for one thing, it *really believes* there's a right-wing old guard that a Republican President has to listen to; and it expects Eisenhower only to string along with the Liberal revolution, not to lead or hasten it);

—the machine's preference for the Democratic candidate over Eisenhower would be notably reduced if Eisenhower were to drop Nixon in favor of, say, Herter; but it seems on the point of giving up on this one;

—for the moment, the machine *qua* machine is doing little or nothing about this preference: it prints, with nice impartiality, photographs of the President making healthy, and attempts by Mr. Stevenson to turn the President's heart condition into political capital. Only such of its mouthpieces as the *New Republic* (that is, those on which it depends to stake out positions left-of-the-line, against the day when they may be needed) have publicly rediscovered the distinction between White and wrong, and insisted that a vote for Eisenhower is a vote for a part-time President;

—the machine has everything to gain from laying off the *New Republic's* pace until it knows for sure the names of the Republican candidate for Vice President and the Democratic candidate for President; for not until then can it decide whether the Democrat might conceivably win.

*If* it 's Nixon in the Republican number-two spot (so that Eisenhower's disability would mean a Nixon Administration); and *if* it is Stevenson for the Democrats; and *if* Stevenson begins to show signs of strength, the machine will be sorely tempted to drop its present pose of neutrality, adopt the *New Republic's* one-foot-in-the-grave position on Eisenhower, and try to win the election with it. It behooves us, therefore, to understand the position, and how the *New Republic* argues it; and to think forward to the moment when— regretfully, of course, and only after mature consideration — the machine will incorporate it in the Liberal line:

The position:

"No man elected President at 65 has lived out his term in the White House." As a matter of statistics, in other words, the President would begin his second term under sentence of death *even if he were healthy,* and *even if the Presidency were not the "oppressive burden" it is today.*

The President, however, is *not* healthy. He has a "damaged" heart, and "could not today meet the physical standards that Army regulations prescribe for commissioned officers." It is, moreover, no answer to this to say that Mr. Eisenhower had "eleven days of testing himself." A real test would have involved his subjecting himself to "the full physical and emotional burden of the office," while for Mr Eisenhower "it took place at the bridge table, on the golf course, and in pursuit of quail" — activities which, for most men, "would spell retirement." The test was "at best inconclusive when measured against the strains of the next four years." And the President's doctors, in discussing the matter, have stretched "professional commitments" and approached "the brink of absurdity" — so that it remains only for some "eminent physician to affirm that heart attacks are invigorating."

The Presidency, moreover, is exacting far beyond the duties of a commissioned officer in the Army. The big question, therefore, has to do with the "consequences of Mr. Eisenhower's continuing in office in his present diminished capacity." These, predictably, are three: a) "he must be guarded from all but the smallest group of trusted advisers," b) "he must be shielded from perplexing problems and unwelcome news," and c) "he must seek to avoid wearing conferences with hostile governments . . [and] the wear and tear [of combating] powerful pressure groups, [backing] disputed and costly programs and [arousing] . . . public opinion."

In a word: the "man who accepts these restrictions accepts a new and sharply restricted interpretation of the Presidential role"; an interpretation, moreover, whose "threatening" consequences we have experienced over the past five months. "A part-time President can rarely initiate and carry through great measures. And yet his presence in the White House deters the nation in its search for solutions, for it cannot establish where responsibility lies. The shadow of responsibility may be cast across subordinates: the Constitution prohibits the substance from being transferred."

**All these arguments,** the *New Republic* continues in effect, become the more compelling when we consider what the new President is going to be called upon to do. He must overcome Republican opposition and "initiate a new China policy." He must overcome "military opposition" and "give impetus to disarmament proposals." He must "induce Congress to surrender a part of our sovereignty in order that we and our allies can work together for our common defense." And he must "obtain Congressional and public acceptance of an overseas aid program that relates our resources, our skills and our surpluses to the poverty of other peoples." (Translation: he must not only be full-time, but more like Mr. Stevenson than even Mr. Eisenhower is.)

Well, there are the arguments. And this columnist believes that, with appropriately unscrupulous handling by machine writers and photographers, they would switch enough votes to be worth going after.

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# NATIONAL REVIEW

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# *Mr. Eisenhower's Decision and the Eisenhower Program*

WM. F. BUCKLEY, JR.

**For Dwight Eisenhower,** the decision was wholly personal. It involved him in a most tangible way, for it stands to affect his immediate future. He of course takes for granted, as most everyone else does, that the future of America and even of the world is involved in his decision, as indeed it is; but Eisenhower doesn't know just how, nor do most of Eisenhower's supporters. That is why, when the President finally confronted, from his office in the White House, a television audience of an estimated sixty-five million people, to "explain" why he had arrived at his breath-catching decision to run again, there was not a word said, not an inflection intentionally turned loose, having to do with the political or social or philosophical imperatives that impelled that decision.

There was no talk of alien forces, champing at the bit, whose designs he intends to frustrate. No mention of the need for his personal supervision of a grand political or moral purpose. In his climactic hour, at the summit of his popularity, Eisenhower as never before appeared as the very essence of himself. He was there as President "of all the people," the good and nonpartisan friend of kings and sultans and nabobs, the intimate of commissars and generalissimos. There was not time, in the scant half hour during which he spoke, to refer to a nation and world in crisis. For there is no serious crisis, in the eyes of our President. And if there is one, something called "the Eisenhower program" will wish it away. Let us not have dire and embarrassing talk, Eisenhower and everyone else seem to be saying about a need for heroic exertions, about the stabbing cries that issue forth out of the total darkness to which one half the world is perpetually committed; for this is a time of cheer, of plenty, of warmheartedness, blurred images and diffuse sentimentality: this is the era of the Eisenhower program.

Mr. Eisenhower has always had difficulty in describing the nature of the Eisenhower program, and it is a difficulty traceable to something more subtle than the difficulty he has in formulating a phrase. The most expensive professional verbalizers in his entourage, or in his camp, have, fundamentally, the same difficulty. So that when the Eisenhower program, in conception and practice, is described, however enthusiastically, however ingeniously, or neatly, it nevertheless refuses to reduce to an orderly system of political or philosophical beliefs, or even to a consistent set of axioms or definitions as to the nature of the problem at hand, or how to deal with it. Like the pantaloons offered for sale by the Yankee peddler memorialized by Lincoln, the program seems to be "large enough for any man, small enough for any boy."

**Eisenhower warns** of the danger that a "treaty or agreement with other countries deprives our citizens of the rights guaranteed them by the Federal Constitution." And no constitutional amendment that seeks to secure those rights can find a place in the Eisenhower program.

Eisenhower's "principles demand that we use every political, every economic, every psychological tactic to see that the liberating spirit, in the nations conquered by Communism, shall never perish." And the Eisenhower program ends us up at Geneva, where we seek means to freeze the status quo, conspicuously refusing to press the matter of the satellite states.

The Democrats, Eisenhower complains, "most generally advise me which Senators I should work with and which I should disown. . . .To hear them talk, you would think that the Republican Party was something I invented and they own—that they can dictate to me a course of action, and Republican candidates will fall in line. Well, let us be thankful that Republicans think for themselves." Unless, in thinking for themselves, they make proposals not sanctioned by the Eisenhower program, as, for example, Senators Knowland and Saltonstall and Bricker have on occasion done; in which case they are, as a matter of practical political fact, at least temporarily disowned by the Eisenhower program.

Eisenhower calls for "a Federal Reserve System exercising its functions in the money and credit system without pressure for political purposes from the Treasury and White House." And, after a few restrictive measures at the outset of the Administration, the Eisenhower program maintains the policies that result in a continuing credit inflation, which is the main present danger to the national economy.

"I do not believe that we can cure all the evils in men's hearts by law," Mr. Eisenhower says, "and when you get to compulsory action in certain phases of this thing I really believe we can do more by leadership in getting states to do it than to make it a federal compulsory thing." And a ruling by the Supreme Court based on contrary assumptions is heartily endorsed by the Eisenhower program.

Federal aid to education? The states "can do it better themselves, locally, with local responsibilities," says Mr. Eisenhower, than by "centralized help which will finally . . . lead again toward control and direction." And so, under the Eisenhower program, we are called upon to appropriate large sums to inaugurate a program of federal aid to education.

The economy? "I shall stop the profligate spending of my predecessors . . . reduce taxes, check the descent of this great nation, founded on the principles of private enterprise, into the morass of socialism and collectivism." And the Eisenhower program calls for continued high spend-

ing, here and abroad; for increasing subventions of various kinds; for expanding federal projects in various directions; for maintaining the tax burden at its present level.

"Thus, we shall help each captive nation to maintain an outward strain against its Moscow bond," Mr. Eisenhower promises. "The lands closed in behind the Iron Curtain will seethe with discontent: their peoples not servants docile under a Soviet master, but ardent patriots yearning to be free again." Whereupon Russia is reassured, by the American Secretary of State, speaking in the United Nations, that under the Eisenhower program "we can understand the particular desire of the Russian people to have close neighbors who are friendly. We sympathize also with that desire. The United States does not want Russia encircled by hostile peoples."

**What is the** Eisenhower program?

Is it a program which as a matter of policy seeks out the middle of the road? It has been so intimated, by Mr. Eisenhower himself—who added, ruefully, that "it takes great courage to follow the middle" against constant attack from both the left and the right. But Eisenhower's sharpest defenders would make no such concession. Not only because it is easy to establish that a number of the stances of the Eisenhower program as well as a number of the specific ventures of the program are not in fact middle-of-the-road; there are other objections to thus identifying the Eisenhower program.

It is indispensable to the program that it irradiate a moral purpose; and middle-of-the-road qua middle-of-the-road is a morally insecure position, as the first Republican President warned at Cooper Union. "Let us be diverted," said Lincoln, "by none of those sophistical contrivances wherewith we are so industriously plied and belabored—contrivances such as groping for some middle ground between the right and the wrong."

The objectives of the Eisenhower program? It is hard to say. What are the objectives of the housewife next door? To get on with her workaday chores, to continue to exercise a certain influence and control over the household, to like, and be liked, to be tranquil, and secure—and, always, to live yet another day. Most of what goes on in the world has no discernible objective.

The Eisenhower program is no exception. For, essentially, it is a program undirected by principle, unchained to any coherent idea as to the nature of man and society, uncommitted to any estimate of the nature or potential of the enemy. Yet it is a program which, because of the personality of its leader and the ingenuity and devotion of its publicists, whatever it is up to at any given moment, is always emitting a squid-like ink of moral justification and intellectual tightness. The program suffers from the ultimate lifelessness of any

program unanimated by definition or principle, but it enjoys, too, a marvelous flexibility. It can respond quickly, and decisively, to the slightest political impulse, and it can reconcile opposites. Under the Eisenhower program one can, simultaneously, declare for a free market economy and veto the gas bill, stand by a policy of liberation and go to Geneva, lucubrate over constitutional rights and freedoms and forever abandon captured American soldiers, and over the whole package—and this is Mr. Eisenhower's historic skill—there is suffused a general benignity of a kind that disarms the multitude and transforms it into an enthusiastic political army. And included in the multitude are hosts of men and women who, in their own moral and intellectual lives, live according to the word, and see things as they are.

Here, indeed, is the danger in the Eisenhower program, that transcends by far the danger of terrible strategic misreckonings of the power or intentions of the enemy, and transcends, too, the danger of a casual institutionalization of socialist measures and paraphernalia. In enshrining amorality, and blurring distinctions, and acclimatizing men to life without definition, we erode the Western position; and that, take or leave a few bombs and airplanes, is all we have got. The socialist tidal wave continues to build up a titanic power, and it is on the move. Effective resistance to it will call for supreme individual and collective exertion, but in behalf of what will this exertion be made? The Eisenhower program? A nation, to be loved, must be lovely, Burke said; and a position, to be effectively defended against the bewitching appeal of a utopian-materialist order, against the connivings and sacrifices of hundreds of millions of active partisans who aim at the hearts and minds of every individual on earth—a position that can stand up under all that must be clear, and bright, and intact: it cannot, after prolonged mutilation by aimless mushheadedness, generate the will to stand, resolute, against forces that history itself seems to be championing.

**General Eisenhower** is himself a good man. He is not a doctrinaire, or an adventurer who would commit the nation's destiny in pursuit of one beguiling horizon, or a redeemer cocksure of his afflatus. That is not a part of the Eisenhower program, for it is not a program administered either by traitors, or adventurers, or charisma-conscious political evangelists or, even, cynics. Therein its strengths—its only strengths. For some Americans who are aware of the Eisenhower program's terrifying weaknesses, those strengths are crucial, and will impel them to vote for Eisenhower in preference to the apparent alternative. The decisions that must be made before November are dreadful ones. As Eisenhower asked for help in reaching his own decision as to whether he should run, so we must all ask for help in reaching a decision as to whether we should vote for him.

# A Top Secret

**The comments on this important and disregarded intelligence report are by John O'Connor**

*On July 5, 1945, the Military Intelligence Division of the War Department issued the following document marked* "SECRET":

CHINESE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT
Prepared by
Military Intelligence Service

1. *The problem*:

The problem of the Chinese Communists is not merely one of how the Communists should be dealt with; even more difficult has been the problem of determining the facts . . .

It was considered by Military Intelligence Service that this state of affairs constituted an impediment to the effective prosecution of military operations in China and in the Pacific. A major project was therefore initiated at the end of 1944, under which the most complete analysts — both civilian and military — were assigned to the examination of *all* material available, and to a compilation of a report on the Chinese Communist movement. The preparation of the report involved the examination of over 2,500 reports, pamphlets and books.

Careful study of these materials has led to a number of basic conclusions . . . .The most important conclusions may be summarized as follows:

1. The "democracy" of the Chinese Communists is Soviet Democracy.

2. The Chinese Communist movement is part of the international Communist movement, sponsored and guided by Moscow.

3. There is reason to believe Soviet Russia plans to create Russian-dominated areas in Manchuria, Korea and probably in North China.

4. A strong and stable China cannot exist without the natural resources of Manchuria and North China.

5. In order to prevent the separation of Manchuria from North China, it is essential that if Soviet Russia participates in the war China not be divided (like Europe) into American-British-and-Russian zones of military operations.

*One hundred and ten copies of this report were issued, in July 1945, to a restricted group of civilian, military and naval chiefs in Washington. Later when a limited number of copies (reportedly three) were available at the Department of State, a man from one of the accredited news services copied the entire document by hand. That man was the TASS representative (i.e., an agent of the Soviet intelligence).*

*Fifteen of the one hundred and ten copies were delivered to the White House.*

*Working from the conclusions above, the confidential Army Intelligence report summed up its findings in this manner*:

High Morale: the Chinese Communists are the best led and most vigorous of present day organizations in China. Their morale is high. Their policies are sharply defined, and carried out with a devotion that is fanatical.

*The report then stated that the Chinese Communists had* . . . a policy of establishing Communism through democracy . . . theirs is a one-party, controlled "democracy."

*Said the report in the next paragraph*:

While the Chinese Communists call their present political system "democracy," the "democracy" which they sponsor is in fact "Soviet Democracy" on the pattern of the USSR rather than democracy in the Anglo-American sense. It is a "democracy" more rigidly controlled by the Chinese Communist Party than is the so-called "one-party dictatorship" of the Chungking government controlled by the Kuomintang. . . . If the Communists' charge of the Kuomintang intolerance is true, it is also true that the Communists will be still more intolerant if they ever obtain supreme power in China.

Nevertheless, since the Chinese Communists provide individuals, especially laborers and peasants, with greater economic opportunities than the Kuomintang Nationalists provide, the Communists enjoy wider popular support in the areas held by their own armies than do the Nationalists in their areas of control. This is the Communists' greatest source of strength in China.

The Chinese Communist movement is part of the international Communist movement. Its military strategy, diplomatic orientation and propaganda policies follow those of the Soviet Union. They are adapted to fit the Chinese environment, but all high policy is derived from international Communist policy which in turn depends on Soviet Russia. Throughout their history the Chinese Communists have loyally supported and followed the policies of Soviet Russia and have accepted the whole content of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism.

This does not prevent the Chinese Communists from maintaining a friendly attitude towards the United States . . .

There are indications that Soviet Russia envisages the establishment of Soviet domination (along somewhat the same lines as in Outer Mongolia and Eastern Europe), in the areas of North China adjacent to Soviet Russia; that is, Sinkiang, Inner Mongolia, Manchuria, and possibly also the northern provinces of China Proper. A typical statement in this regard is one by a Soviet Russian diplomat in China who emphasized that Soviet Russia is determined that all her border states should be ". . . free from unhealthy combination or linkage with other great powers."

*Let it be repeated: this report was issued on July 5, 1945, by the Military Intelligence Division of the War Department to the civilian, military and naval chiefs in Washington.*

*Among these privileged people was Harry S. Truman, then President of the U.S., General George C. Marshall, and Mr. Dean Acheson. They discarded the report completely. Instead, they took Owen Lattimore's word. Thus, China was lost.*

*Messrs. Truman, Marshall and Acheson had read the secret report of July 5, 1945. They acted as if they had never read it.*

*Why?*

## Ohio

# *State Should Go Republican; Governor Lausche Democratic Aspirant for Presidency and Senate*

SAM M. JONES

**Ohio ranks with** Virginia as "the mother of Presidents" (each has given the nation eight Chief Executives). From Ohio came William Henry Harrison, Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Benjamin Harrison, McKinley, Taft and Harding. All but William Henry Harrison were born in the state.

This year Ohio has another aspirant for the Presidency — Governor Frank Lausche. The Governor is admittedly an extremely long shot for the Democratic nomination, but his chances today are probably as good as were those of Warren G. Harding in the spring of 1920. For almost anything can happen in a deadlocked convention.

Governor Lausche is also a candidate for the United States Senate. If the Presidential lightning fails to strike him at Chicago he still has a chance to capture the seat of Republican Senator George H. Bender.

Mr. Bender is a veteran of nearly twenty years in the national political arena. He was first elected to the House in 1938 as Congressman-at-large, and served in that capacity until 1950 when he was elected from the 23rd district. Two years later he defeated Senator (by appointment) Tom Burke to complete the unexpired term of the late Senator Taft. In the closing days of that campaign Mr. Bender was favored by two developments. President Eisenhower, speaking in Ohio, gave him a hearty endorsement; and the Democratic candidate, Mr. Burke, announced that he was all for the censure of Senator McCarthy. The subject had not been an issue and Burke was under no compulsion to take a stand. He lost to Bender by 6,000 votes, thereby becoming the first victim of the censure boomerang.

On the basis of the relative strength shown in the Bender-Burke race, Governor Lausche should win next November with the greatest of ease. The only five-term Governor in the state's history, he is head and shoulders above any other politician in Ohio, including Burke and Bricker. No living contender can count on such tremendous support from voters of the opposition party.

There are nevertheless some political analysts who believe that Senator Bender has a good chance of reelection. They base this opinion on 1) the fact that Ohio is normally Republican in national elections; 2) that Bender has an immense state-wide acquaintance developed while Congressman-at-large; and 3) that Mr. Eisenhower will be the Presidential nominee.

There is a further reason which belongs among the imponderables: Ohio has never elected a Democrat to the United States Senate. (Several have become senators, but in each case by appointment.) Moreover, Ohio voters have a long-established habit of reelecting candidates to *state* office (including the governorship) and then turning them down cold when they make a bid for *national* office.

Despite its frequent lapses from orthodoxy, Ohio is a Republican state, especially in national elections. Only three Democrats have won its electoral vote in the twentieth century. Woodrow Wilson carried it in 1912 and 1916; Franklin Roosevelt in '32, '36, and '40; Harry Truman in '48.

**If present conditions** prevail in November, it seems highly probable that Mr. Eisenhower will win in Ohio against any Democratic contender. But like all the other highly industrialized states, Ohio is extremely sensitive to economic fluctuations. During several visits in the past few months, I found strong contrasts to conditions encountered in the same communities in 1954. In that year the recession had hit the automotive, rubber and many other industries with considerable impact, and political discontent was evident in many cities.

Cleveland alone has seven General Motors plants, four Ford factories; it is the headquarters of Republic Steel, and the lighting division of General Electric. Alcoa has a plant there and Standard Oil has two large refineries. It is an important tool and die center. Akron is the rubber capital of the world. Cincinnati is a world leader in machine tools, electrotypes, soap, playing cards. Toledo is the world's largest coal-shipping port, and the home of Owens-Illinois Glass, Libby-Owens-Ford, Willys-Overland, Champion Spark Plug, Electric Auto-Lite, Toledo Scale. Ohio has 25,000 producing oil wells and a 50-million-barrel reserve.

Even a slight downturn in the economy, especially in the automobile industry, can have serious repercussions throughout Ohio. The present leveling off in the motor car industry is having an effect not nearly as serious as that of 1954. There is no lack of confidence among the people. An upturn is expected by summer, or at worst by early fall. "Prosperity" and "Eisenhower" are practically synonymous in the public mind, and the same applies to "Peace" and "Eisenhower." If this association is not disrupted by events, the Democratic Presidential candidate will find cold comfort in Ohio.

The division in the House of Representatives may remain in *statu quo*. (There are now seventeen Republicans and six Democrats in the delegation.) Representative Oliver Bolton of the 11th district is retiring, but his constituents are virtually sure to return another Republican. Republicans Frank T. Bow (16th district) Williams H. Ayres (14th) and Democrat Wayne L. Hays (18th) may have hard fights but all are expected to win.

Mike DiSalle, former price-control boss and one-time mayor of Toledo, may win the Democratic gubernatorial nomination without a contest. There is a chance, however, that he may be opposed by former Senator Burke (a former mayor of Cleveland) in which case it would be a close race with the odds slightly in favor of Burke.

There are two Republican candidates for the gubernatorial nomination, Attorney General C. William O'Neill and Lt. Governor John W. Brown. O'Neill is backed by the Party machine and is regarded as the probable winner. If the nominations result in a contest between O'Neill and DiSalle, the odds will be heavy on the Republican.

# *The Poujade Movement*

**Poujadism has been spectacularly successful as a protest of small shopkeepers, exploiting the general discontent with the Fourth Republic. Whether it can become a real political party is uncertain**

JULES MONNEROT

There are two elements in the phenomenon of Poujadism: a mobile element, that floating mass of discontented persons which at present supports Poujade; and a more stable element to which the mobile element has been drawn. This nucleus is a social class menaced with extinction (that is, with falling back into the proletariat), namely: two million small shopkeepers who have formed an organization to defend their class. Of this organization, the Union for the Defense of Merchants and Artisans — *l'Union de Défense des Commerçants et Artisans,* (UDCA) — Pierre Poujade is the soul.

Let us take first the mobile element. In 1946 the actual number of Frenchmen not accepting the present regime or profoundly distrusting it was — even excluding the Communists—greater than the number accepting it. If the "nays" in the Constitutional Referendum of 1946 are added to the abstentions, they form a majority — a majority to be found again in a large degree among those voting the de Gaulle slate in the municipal elections of 1947 and the Legislative elections of 1951. Since 1945, the working of the Fourth Republic, in which the influence of the Communists remains a constant factor, has only confirmed the reservations of those who thought the regime lacked flexibility. France, say these critics, has been thrown out of Indo-China; her elimination from North Africa is proceeding at an accelerated pace; her elimination from Black Africa is in the books for tomorrow. And for tomorrow, too, is reserved the economic, social and political crisis which the African secession will unleash. That psychological base of national frustration on which facism built in Italy and in Germany, undeniably exists in present-day France. Political and parliamentary figures are suspected of being more allied by their corporate interests than divided by political differences. The "policy of abandonment" in North Africa, these discontented elements say, was carried forward by Pierre Mendès-France, and by Edgar Faure with Antoine Pinay as his Minister of Foreign Affairs. From this viewpoint, the resemblance among these three men is more important than what divides them.

The "Poujade movement" is the only important, nationally organized political group not only uncompromised by any connection with preceding policy but also on record against any thought of retreat in North Africa. That is why those French nationalists who understood this position voted en masse for Poujade. And far greater numbers would have done so had they not been prevented by the extremely efficient propaganda of the Faure government, which spread the word through the radio, the press, the prefects, etc., that the Poujadist deputies had no chance of being elected.

## *Too Many Shopkeepers*

How did the core of opposition appear which has polarized this discontent? The Poujade movement, as I have said, has a sociological class basis. There are in France nearly two million licensed shopkeepers. The problem before the nation, clearly, is to break up this swollen distributive apparatus while still ensuring a humane economic reclassification of the individuals involved. It was political folly to assume that in mid-twentieth-century France purely economic mechanisms of elimination — intensified by the pressure of taxation — could be relied upon to solve this problem; in other words, that the over-extended distributive system could be reduced through large numbers of bankruptcies without any accompanying disturbances. A policy of "survival of the fittest" does not take into account the fact that *a regime of the type of the Fourth Republic provides an economically threatened social group with the power to defend itself by organization and by the vote.* Actually, the end of uncontrolled inflation and the stabilization of prices brought about by the Pinay government in 1952 was counterbalanced for the merchants by an increase in their tax burden which in some cases ran as high as 50 per cent. The economic recession which began in the spring of 1952 and became general by the beginning of 1953 cruelly reduced the income of the small merchant and artisan and at the same time aggravated the crisis of small business, which was related to the economic decline of Southwestern France, the most backward section of the nation.

It was precisely at this juncture that the Chamber of Deputies adopted, at the instigation of the Mendès-France and Edgar Faure governments, a group of measures which, if strictly applied, would have cut down the over-extended distributive system in a most brutal manner. These included the right of tax officials to enter and search the homes of merchants, to seize their books, to make on-the-spot tax assessments with the threat of prison or fines hanging over the heads of recalcitrants; the denial of the traditional tax amnesties to small shopkeepers, an increase in the cost of licenses, a refusal of social security benefits to small businessmen, and the maintenance of price controls. At the same time, the Mendès-France govern-

ment put through the Assembly certain tax privileges for large business enterprises, permitting them to deduct from their taxable totals investments, outlays said to be for modernization, and purchases of materials. Factory and administrative cooperatives, which directly compete with small business, were also simultaneously granted tax reductions. At this same time certain other projects added to the uneasiness of the small businessman. Some examples: the sale of meat in cellophane packages, pilot stores, markets at railway stations, and large bread factories destined to put the corner baker out of business.

An entire social class felt itself in danger of being crushed in a pincers, between the well directed modern capitalist organization with its commercial trusts and chains of stores on one side, and, on the other, the consumer cooperatives and enterprises subsidized by the state. No qualified representatives of the small businesses concerned were consulted concerning the plans of these projects to unsnarl France's distribution tangle. The small businessman now saw no hope of maintaining his standard of living in face of the eventual change of methods confronting him.

## *"Tax Strikes"*

The UDCA was born in July 1953, when the Communist blacksmith Fregeac and the stationer Poujade, municipal councillors of Saint-Cere, in the Department of Lot, persuaded a number of citizens to oppose with force a visit by the tax-collectors to a local merchant. This was the first phase of the Poujade movement, the phase of "interference with tax controls," which was roughly analogous to the first successful strikes in the working-class movement; a phase in which the first adherents of the movement tasted the exaltation of violent and successful concerted action, which foiled the coercive apparatus of the state.

Similar "tax strikes" were organized first in other sections of the Department of Lot, then in the neighboring departments. In each town, in each new operation of this kind, a new section of the UDCA was founded. These sections were then

*Pierre Poujade*

affiliated. Poujade and his most active lieutenants were soon traveling all over France. He himself tells about this period in his book, *J'ai Choisi le Combat.*

Poujade comes from a large and indigent family in the impoverished province of Quercy. Seventh child of a Royalist architect, he was raised by the Jesuits. On the death of his father, he was forced to leave school before completing his secondary education. Before he was twenty, he had worked at a number of manual jobs, among them that of tar-spreader. It was the era of the "popular front" in France. His detractors claim that Poujade was a member of the Doriot fascist youth. Until 1942, he was in the Vichy youth movement, but he was imprisoned in Spain when he tried to escape France to join the fighting forces of General de Gaulle. Once in Algeria, he enlisted in the French air corps, and it was during an illness in 1943 that he was nursed by the girl who later became his wife and his faithful collaborator. Demobilized before he had a chance to prove himself, Pierre Poujade became first a salesman and then a stationer-bookseller in order to support his family.

The history of the UDCA can be divided, then, into three phases. After the phase of "interference with tax controls," when the movement had been organized on a national scale, came the phase of pressure on members of Parliament, in which the movement's agitation for its demands had not yet become political agitation, properly speaking. It was not until the end of 1955, when the Chamber was dissolved, that Poujade decided to present candidates to the electorate. A little earlier, his personally owned *Fraternité Française* had been combined with, and shortly substituted for, the weekly paper *l'Union.*

As the success of the Poujadist movement grew beyond the direct interests of the small merchants, Poujade founded parallel unions: a Union of Peasants; a Workers Union (which has already donated several million francs to the support of the Digoin strikes); a Union of the Liberal Professions; and a Union of Youth (the last two are still in process of formation). But until now, the movement has been financed by the merchant members of the UDCA. A minimum of 500,000 merchants each paid dues of two thousand francs ($5.70) a year. That was before the January 2 elections. The number of adherents has certainly greatly increased since then. The UDCA has no permanent officials. Its militant members are only reimbursed for their expenses while traveling for the movement; and if they are forced to hire substitutes to replace them in their places of business, the substitute is paid directly by the UDCA. In this way, the Poujade movement was able to carry out its election campaign without outside aid.

## *Back to 1789*

Up to the present the Poujadists' favorite theme, the myth they use for purposes of agitation, is the convocation of a States-General on the idealized model of that which met in France in 1789. Under this plan, each social category, in its own places of work, would draw up its list of demands. The demands of the local delegates would be culled and coordinated on the regional level. The selection made by the regional delegates would be sifted once more by the national representatives of the various professions. This Sorelian myth has been attacked on the grounds of puerility; wrongly, I believe. The dictatorship of the Assem-

bly in France of 1955 is analogous to that of Louis XVI in 1789. Like King Louis, the monarch-parliament does not really consult the people. Through the medium of the States-General, the people will thus, supposedly, make known to His Majesty, the Chamber of Deputies, their needs. Such is the Poujadist argument. Evidently, if one pursues the analogy, the States-General of 1955 must supplant the monarch-parliament just as the States-General of 1789 tolled the bell for the King's sovereignty.

Such agitation automatically runs the risk of playing into the hands of the strongest mass movement in the country. The calling of the States-General could be expected to serve the Communist Party, which is best organized to benefit from an agitation covering the demands of all classes. At the birth of the movement, there was collusion between the UDCA and the Communists, who tried to make use of the infant *Union* to penetrate into the relatively non-receptive milieu of the little shopkeeper. But since then *l'Humanité* has several times denounced the Poujadist movement as "fascist", and Poujade is beginning to realize that his party is not yet purged of all its Communist adherents. It was remarked upon, and with reason, that during the electoral campaign the Poujadists worked against the parties of the outgoing majority and not against the Communists. But the hypothesis of present collusion between Poujade and the Communists cannot, apparently, be seriously maintained.

The Communist Party has gone on record against the imposition of taxes at the source of production and for state support of industrial cooperatives. On both questions the Poujade movement takes a fundamentally different position. The two movements are totally opposed on North Africa. And among the Poujadist leaders are numbers of Indo-China veterans who are violently anti-Communist. Could it be that the UDCA fears a massive boycott of its merchant members on the part of the Communist Party and of the powerful Communist-dominated General Federation of Labor—a boycott which other union groups would certainly join? Isolated union groups in various provinces have already made trial efforts of this kind.

Poujade's political headquarters so far include no men who were formerly important in the Gaullist movement. But among his technical assistants are some who were compromised by wartime collaboration or activities in the Vichy regime.

Today, the Poujade movement finds itself at the crossroads. The very elements which give its substructure solidity are also responsible for its narrowness and its difficulty in transforming itself into a political movement aimed at taking over power. For this, it would have to develop some conception of the general welfare; to find a common ground among its heterogenous elements; and to leave unanswered none of those questions of public interest posed by history—questions with which the present directors of the movement have never come to grips. But in transforming its original structure into an orthodox political party, the Poujade movement runs the risk of losing its sociological base. Can the Fourth Republic, by giving demagogic satisfaction to all material complaints of the merchants who created this movement, stop it in its tracks?

Even so, the dissatisfaction with the present French political system would not thereby be suppressed, but only shifted; it would not be slow to find another form—perhaps a more effective one. The social and economic bases for analogous political developments exist in those countries of Europe having similar problems of distribution, notably in Italy and even in Greece, as echoes of the Poujade movement have demonstrated. But nowhere else will a social class fighting extinction find such an easy connection between its own discontent and that permeating the whole of a society caught in the vise of national frustration.

# ON THE LEFT... C. B. R.

**Summit Mystery,** Gilbert Green, convicted Illinois Communist leader, who has been a fugitive for five years, surrendered himself to the U. S. Attorney in New York with the statement that "my voluntary appearance here is an indication of a changing political climate and my confidence of still greater changes ahead." Henry Winston, another convicted Illinois Red, who jumped bail, has also surrendered. The American Reds seem to have received word from Soviet sources that Eisenhower would go easy on the American Communists as a proof of his adherence to the spirit of Geneva.

**In The Colleges.** Herbert Aptheker addressed about 750 students and faculty members of the University of Minnesota at a forum sponsored by the all-University congress. The *Minnesotan Daily,* the college newspaper, editorially welcomed the decision to open the forum to this well-known Communist.

**Tough Party Line.** Among the proposals of the recent legislative conference of the Communist Party in New York were the following: 1) Condemnation of the government security program, the industrial security program, congressional "witchhunts," perjury indictments, and passport restrictions. 2) Demands for intervention of the federal government, including the use of federal troops, in the South. 3) Demands for removal of the Mississippi delegation from Congress. The conference praised the work of the newly formed Emergency Civil Liberties Conference.

**Stone Curtain.** I. F. Stone has decided to deprive the Eastland Committee of the benefit of reading his Weekly. He not only refused to accept a subscription but filed suit in the U.S. District Court in Washington, D.C., on the ground that the subscription "would constitute an unlawful expenditure of public funds under the First Amendment."

**National Disgrace.** According to the New York Chinese Seamen's Association, U. S. immigration authorities ordered a group of Chinese seamen deported to Red China last May. One member of the group named Chien Chen Chung attempted to hang himself to avoid deportation, but failed and was sent to a hospital. Another member, Chang Pui-wun, also attempted suicide at the immigration detention quarters and was removed to a hospital for emergency treatment.

# *Letter from the Continent*

E. v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

*Innsbruck, Tyrol*

I wonder if Americans realize how big their "establishment" in Europe is —army, navy, air force, dependents, business representatives, tourists, diplomatic and consular personnel, special missions, students, reporters. America's presence in Western Europe (manifest also in the form of cigarettes, films, cars, washing machines, records, books, fashions from nylon hose to Hawaiian shirts) is the main fact of Europe's American Age.

How do Europeans react to the American establishment in their midst?

The way Continentals view America and Americans is extremely complex. Their opinions are usually out of focus and often negative but, luckily, not too firmly grounded or too deeply ingrained. The situation is bad, but not quite as bad as most Americans believe. And it would have improved if American propaganda had proceeded more intelligently.

The fact that the American propaganda machine on the Continent was set up in the flush of "victory" accounts largely for the wrong selection of much of the personnel and the inept methods. The original idea was to influence the "masses," to address the Common Man while ignoring "the egghead, the highbrow, the plutocrats, the militarists, the upper ten thousand or the clergy." Yet, in missionizing and propagandizing, the most effective approach is through the conversion of key minds. A German writer, an Austrian university professor, an Italian bishop, a Swiss director of broadcasting, a Dutch editor-in-chief, once won over to a true and new concept of the U.S., will spread the news. (Egalitarianism is least valid in the realm of the spirit and the intellect.)

Clearly, the basic trouble with American propaganda in Europe (or anywhere else) stems from the Leftist imprint it bears; but it also suffers from want of self-knowledge. Indeed, very few people realize what their country stands for, what it represents in the community of nations, what specific values and charms it possesses. In the U.S., unfortunately, there persists, alongside the great American tradition, a "populistic" and Leftist tradition which goes back to Tom Paine and Andrew Jackson. According to this concept, America is the Proletarian Jerusalem which (in the words of Emma Lazarus) has given haven to Europe's "wretched refuse" —the country of a money-worshipping, classless society ("ruled by Wall Street"), Melville's "Anglo-Saxon China"; a country of skyscrapers, saxophone players, aggressive matriarchs, stockbrokers; a nation paradoxically believing in equality for all, in hard cash and good fellowship; a country despising traditions and dumping agrarian surpluses; an irreligious, rootless people believing in Progress and eagerly lapping up whatever is new. It would be easy to turn each of these mythological traits into a characteristic, not of America, but of the European continent. I am writing this letter from Innsbruck, a city of 110,000 inhabitants—a place with houses of much greater average height; with far fewer inhibitions against breaking with tradition; with a much greater love of money; with a smaller percentage of active Christians, than a U.S. city of similar size.

The mythological evil picture of America—embraced, I am afraid, even by a majority of Americans— has been accepted uncritically by most Europeans. Needless to say, this presentation of America, invented in the U.S. and consciously-subconsciously spread by Americans stationed in Europe, has had devastating results. It has antagonized the Conservatives, the Christians, the Socialists, the idealists of all camps, the intellectuals, organized labor, the professional classes, the peasantry and all landholders—almost everybody, in fact, except adolescents obsessed by technology, Nazis with exaggerated views of American racialism, man-hating females, and Communists who thought that America-minus-Wall-Street would be the fulfillment of their dream. Every group has its own type of anti-Americanism, fanned by amateur or professional U.S. propagandists.

There were other reasons, too, why American propaganda failed: the ravages caused by U.S. aerial warfare; the unconditional-surrender formula; the Morgenthau Policy at the beginning of the Occupation; and—last but not least—the defeatist indifference of so many American conservatives who, by default, had left the field of foreign affairs and foreign connections to organized Liberalism.

As one can easily see, the prospects of a real understanding between America and the Continent are none too good. (I am not speaking of American-British amity which is of a totally different order; nor of the Anglo-Continental relations which, at present, are even more hopeless.) It will not do, in the future at any rate, to talk merely to the tiny groups of Liberals who, as we know by statistical experience, are the first to join totalitarian mass-movements. American propaganda has to tackle the points of greatest, not of least resistance. And it should present the best America has to offer—not photos of workers' wives getting permanents (which create a mixture of envy and contempt among Europe's workers), or of skyscrapers (where hardly anybody lives, America having a larger percentage of private home-owners than Europe), or of jitterbugging youngsters (Paris, not New York, being today the center of "hot jazz").

In the meantime, American propaganda mistakes continue, especially in the exchange of students: there is nothing more destructive than short visits to the U.S. by Europeans who, from such swift and superficial experiences, often return home more anti-American than when they left. U.S. Information Centers have done valuable spade work; but serious errors are being committed even in their location: Innsbruck, the Tyrolean capital, has been deprived of its *Amerikahaus* (U.S. Information Center) because it is smaller than Linz which keeps its *Amerikahaus*. Yet Innsbruck has a university of international fame, whereas Linz is of no importance as an intellectual center. It is a safe bet that, thus, the American effort will fail in Linz.

# *An Honest Union*

MADELYN VIETH

On February 13, 1956, the people of Chicago looked at a full-page advertisement in every Chicago newspaper. Entitled "To Our Members, Employers, Friends, and the General Public," the ad gave a certified statement on the financial condition (including all details on receipts and disbursements for 1955) of the Chicago Truck Drivers Union, Local 705, Independent. The advertisement also cited the financial details of the union's Health and Welfare Fund and of its pension system. It was signed by Edward Fenner, executive director of this independent union (some 12,000 members).

To Chicagoans, there was nothing startling about Fenner's union buying newspaper space to tell its members — and the public — of its financial affairs. Since 1949, Fenner has been taking full pages, half pages, and quarter pages in Chicago papers for detailed audited accounts of union finances, and occasional comments on current red-hot issues.

For example, not too long ago the union published an advertisement entitled "One Big Union — Whose?," which argued that an amalgamation of the AFL and the CIO would deprive union members of "the right of withdrawal."

> That right is as basic to the principles of industrial democracy [said the ad] as the right to vote for change in our political life. . . . The goal of "One Big Union" is designed to prevent and frustrate this right of change. . . . We shall never subscribe to any movement such as the "One Big Union" movement which must inevitably deprive the individual working man of his right of free choice and make him the servant rather than the master of his union.

Against the Taft-Hartley Law, the union's executive director announced, "we have no complaints. The legitimate activities of a legitimate union aren't hampered by this legislation, and we see no necessity for amending it."

The union's reaction would doubtless have been different before Fenner took office, twelve years ago. When he was offered the job, after several years as confidential assistant to President Mike Galvin (and a hitch in the army), Fenner laid down conditions which included incorporation outside the state of Illinois and the drafting of a new constitution. The union's old guard, thinking these requests were technical frills, said yes. Fenner became executive director.

He promptly had Local 705, Independent, incorporated in Delaware. Then he ended all payments to gangsters for "protecting" the union (which were extorted from many Chicago unions in the Capone days). Incorporation in Delaware gave him federal protection against pressure from political and non-political shakedown artists.

Before the old guard and their coterie of "bodyguards" had recovered from the shock, Fenner had drawn up his new constitution and obtained signed statements of approval from every one of the union's 7,000 members.

The next year, he won raises of over 10 per cent from the cartage firms and almost 15 per cent from the steady truck employers; the first 8-hour day, 5-day week in the Local's history; and the first provision for two weeks vacation after five years service (one week up to five years). Wages and working conditions have steadily improved since then. They now include some of the most advanced provisions in the nation's labor contracts.

Fenner's conduct should have been no surprise to Mike Galvin; he was merely continuing the role that had inspired Galvin to hire him.

Galvin met Fenner in New York's Roxy Theater while Fenner was still a student at Columbia University, earning his expenses as an usher. When Galvin and his woman companion were directed to the long line waiting for seats, he offered Usher Fenner a five-dollar bill to seat them immediately. Fenner turned down the tip and, when pressed for a reason, explained that there simply weren't any seats — and if there were, he would have produced them without the tip, since that was his job. Struck by this kind of candor, Galvin gave Fenner his card, and suggested that he come to Galvin's Chicago office if and when he needed a job.

Fenner graduated from Columbia in 1928, and moving from one odd job to another, made his way west to Chicago. There he put in brief apprenticeships in Marshall Field's "budget basement" and Wieboldt's neighborhood department stores. In 1932, he decided to look up Mike Galvin — and was immediately installed as Galvin's confidential assistant. Galvin, while somewhat less than honest himself (he was later "ventilated" by some hoodlums he had double-crossed), recognized honesty when he saw it.

The longer Fenner worked for Galvin, the less he liked what he saw. When the boss job was offered to him by men who thought he would carry on in Galvin's fashion, Fenner took it —and ended everything characteristic of the Galvin regime.

## *Open Books*

Fenner does not regard union members as captives. His attitude is best exemplified in a letter he sent to every member in April 1950 (and subsequently published in an advertisement). Enclosed with a copy of a CPA-audited statement of the union's annual income and disbursements, the letter read:

> We now report to you the spending of the Union income from dues. We firmly believe that progressive unionism demands periodic reports to members on the expenditures of Union funds. This we have consistently done in the past and propose to continue to do in the future.
>
> You will note that expenditures are only slightly less than receipts. This is as it should be. Our Union is a not-for-profit organization. Its purpose, accordingly, is not to build huge financial reserves to safeguard the old-age security of Union officials, but rather to tailor the dues assessments to fit its financial requirements.

To a union movement with huge treasuries as standard equipment, Fenner's doctrine on union finances was truly revolutionary. But the achievement of which Fenner is proudest is the union's Health and Welfare Plan (complete with clinic services) which he founded in 1946, when the union welfare movement was in its

infancy. Local 705, Independent, inaugurated a medical plan of its own, providing for a small private clinic staffed by two physicians and three nurses to treat, for all non-occupational ailments, union members and their wives and children. Members paid a small fee for this service; the annual deficit of $60,000 was made up from union funds. In February 1949 this plan was superseded by a Health and Welfare Fund which is now supported entirely by employers' contributions, at the rate of $2.75 per week per employee, and administered by three trustees — Fenner, representing the union; George W. Dixon, of the Arthur Dixon Transfer Co., as the employers' representative; and John C. Fitzgerald, dean of Loyola University Law School, as the public member. Significantly, when decisions had to be taken on the salaries of the three welfare-board members, Fenner insisted that only the public member be paid. And so it was carried.

In 1954, when Senate and House committees were unveiling the scandalous administration of some union health and welfare funds, Fenner reassured his members that there was none of this in *their* union's fund. His method was startling but conclusive.

The annual report of Local 705's Health and Welfare Fund for 1953 (issued in March 1954) carried three appendices: Appendix A, which contained the names of all members who had died during the year and of their beneficiaries who had collected death benefits from the union fund; Appendix B, which carried the names of all union members who had received sick benefits during the year, and the amounts. Most union members don't know much about reading a financial report; but they could all see whether any of their fellow workers was listed and find out whether he had actually received the listed benefits. In addition, the financial report set forth all cash disbursements of the fund, including salaries (in Appendix C), and the names of all people who had received any compensation from the fund. (These people turned out to be nurses, accountants, clerks, etc. — no union leaders.)

In the accompanying statement to his members, Fenner pointed out:

> The newspapers have been full of stories recently about how some union health and welfare funds have been used to enrich some union leaders and their slimy cohorts. I don't know how anyone can legislate honesty in union circles, any more than one can legislate honesty among employers. . . . The only safeguard is the vigilance of union members. . . .

The *Harvard Business Review* had something to add. In an article entitled "Racketeering in Health and Welfare Funds," the *Review* pointed out that there are honest unions and honest funds:

> For example, the Chicago Truck Drivers Union, Local 705, Independent, and Local 705 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (AFL) both cover exactly the same bailiwick in Chicago, have approximately the same number of members, hold contracts identically worded, and receive the same per capita amounts for welfare benefits. Yet Local 705, Independent, offers its members approximately twice the amount of medical, hospitalization, and insurance benefits, as does Local 705 of the Teamsters union.
>
> Moreover, Local 705, Independent, buys space in all Chicago newspapers every six months to publish the semi-annual audited report of its health and welfare finances, and mails copies to all members and employers; on the other hand, Local 705 of the Teamsters union refuses to tell reporters or even employer contributors anything about its health and welfare finances. Contrasts like this can be found in almost every city in the nation.

Last year, Fenner's union established a pension fund (employer-financed: five cents per employee per hour). Pension fund receipts are deposited with the Continental Illinois Bank's Trust Department, and a three-man board of administrators has been named: Fenner, Walter Mullady, president of Decatur Cartage Company and past president of the American Trucking Association; and Harold C. Havighurst, dean of the law school of Northwestern University. Dean Havighurst, the public member, will be the only one to receive compensation.

Fenner has no ambition to take in other truck locals in other cities or, as some unions have done, lure members from fields other than trucking. He is satisfied for Local 705 to remain an independent Chicago union. But he is interested in all affairs which, he feels, affect his union members.

For instance, when Chicago civic leaders organized the Committee of Nineteen to fight the tie-up between crime and city politics, Fenner (who had seen this tie-up at close range) gave the Committee $1,000. Or, more recently, Fenner ran one of his frequent advertisements in the Chicago papers to indulge in what he called "some frank talk about the relationship between labor unions and our community." He scored his own union's failure to educate its members in civic affairs, and discussed the contention of some civic leaders that labor unions are "controlled by lawless mobs . . . operated as shake-downs or rackets . . . or controlled by political subversives." As a solution he suggested that all Chicago unions form a "Joint Union Community Action Committee . . . to carry on a program of participation in all types of community work . . . and to explain . . . the functions and accomplishments of organized labor." He received not a single response.

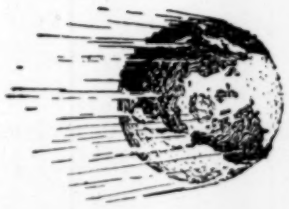
## *Candid Officials*

Meetings of Fenner's union are held every Thursday night at union headquarters. Any member can discuss any grievance with any union official. Action is prompt.

This same candor startles reporters who ask Fenner about his salary. Fenner tells them! He gets $21,800 a year salary and $19,200 expenses — and he makes no bones about it. He pays the union's officers, business agents and organizers well, too — from $5,000 to $17,000 a year. He believes that any business executive responsible for administering an organization of 12,000 persons would receive as much or more; and he thinks union executives are as important as businessmen.

Local 705, Independent, now has more than 1,000 contracts with such firms as Kroger's and Jewel Tea; and with cartage giants such as Motor Express, Inc., F. Landon Cartage Co., Signal Transfer Service, Arthur Dixon Transfer Co., A. Salavitch & Sons Teaming Co. The union has cordial relations with the Cartage Exchange of Chicago and the Illinois Motor Truck Operators Association.

In general, such independent unions as Local 705 make little noise outside their area. Their names rarely appear in the nation's press. But they serve their members with honor and distinction.



# The THIRD WORLD WAR

JAMES BURNHAM

## *The Moscow Paradox*

Let us consider the following two propositions:

1. Most Americans, civilian and governmental, exaggerate Soviet strengths and capabilities.

2. Most Americans, civilian and governmental, underestimate the Soviet threat to the security and survival of the United States.

The two seem to contradict each other. Nevertheless, I believe that both are true and that both are barriers to an effective American foreign policy. The double error here is in part an "egocentric fallacy." Americans interpret the power and the threat of the Soviet Union in largely inappropriate terms drawn from American experience. The error has also been deliberately promoted by Communist propaganda, which gains a double advantage: exaggerating Soviet strength, we hesitate to undertake anti-Soviet actions; underestimating the Soviet threat, we think we do not need to undertake them.

How strong is the Soviet Union? In conventional terms its strength, relative to the United States, is not too imposing. All nations seem to have a farm problem, but ours is too much food and theirs is too little. Their total industrial output is less than a third of ours, and much inferior in quality. Key sectors upon which modern technology essentially rests— electricity, transport, communications, machine tools—are mostly behind their general average. Their administrative load is heavier than ours, their labor efficiency much lower. Their rates of spoilage, breakdown, obsolescence are inordinately high.

The Soviet military machine is vast, but one may still—even after twelve years of drumming on the Victory Over Hitler theme—question its quality. The Finns outfought it ten to one. Even in the last stages of the Nazi war, the Soviets needed a three to one superiority to handle the retreating Germans. Neither before nor after the Revolution have the Russians and their present associates been impressive at sea. In the air their experience and tradition are limited in scope. They have little experience of strategic bombing or, more generally, of autonomous air power.

Potential disaffection riddles their empire. Even within the Soviet borders, nationalist aspirations are ready now as in the past to swell into action at any real opportunity. In spite of cajolery and terror, the East European nations have not been assimilated. The Chinese link is not yet strong enough to trust under major stress. Everywhere the peasants hate collectivization.

Not all the stories of all last year's spoon-fed tourists, from Stewart Alsop to Senator Malone, can shake the obvious inferences that one must draw from the existence of forced labor camps, work permits, continuing purges, sealed borders, prohibition of unofficial foreign travel, and the monthly defection of thousands.

## *Whence Then the Threat?*

By these material criteria, according to which we are accustomed to gauge our own and other nations' strength, the Soviet Union is much weaker than popular opinion currently imagines. If so, where does the threat come from?

Now it is a curious thing that those who most uncritically accept the Soviet-originated picture of Soviet strength do not seem really to feel a literal seriousness in the Soviet threat. They never, at any rate, talk about an actual Soviet conquest of the United States. On the other hand, I am asserting both that the Soviet Union is weaker than generally thought and also that it is a threat in the direct sense of such possible conquest in the not too distant future.

The paradox can be resolved by grasping the principle that the outcome of a great struggle is not primarily determined by material strength. If it were, there would have been no history. The tribe that first made a stone hatchet would have won once for all. Lenin did not conquer Russia, nor Mao China, by the weight of money, factories and arms.

Now as in the past the Communists are winning because they possess superior political will and strategic intelligence. They have chosen their enemy. They know their goal, and have selected appropriate means whereby to reach it. As their chief means of struggle they have created an all-sided form of political warfare that unites the methods of subversion, infiltration, demoralization, terror, paramilitary and guerilla operations.

We lose because, so far, we display a feebler political will and inferior strategic intelligence, because we have not clearly chosen either our enemy or our goal, and because we have devised no answer to their mode of political warfare.

The basic question is not who is ahead in bombers, missiles, A and H-bombs. We have been, and it has made no difference. You cannot win without the will to win. We have stymied ourselves by an impassable dilemma. We neither bring to bear on our opponent our superior material strength nor try seriously to challenge him by his own novel methods of political warfare.

What our policy comes down to is an effort at bribery—which we call "foreign aid." But by itself that can do no more than fatten the victims for the slaughter.

The rule of the "privileged sanctuary" is quite general: the sanctuary which we respect includes all regions that the opponent has won. So, able to thrust at will wherever he senses a softening, without any risk of a counter-thrust against his own base, his expansion, slow or fast, will inevitably go on.

On the premises of our present policy there is no way to alter this prospect. Doubling or tripling our armament, or halving it; a crash program or no program for missiles: granted the present policy conception, such issues are largely irrelevant.

The perspective for the next period can be summarized this way. You cannot save West Germany but you might win East Germany. You cannot save Formosa, but you might regain China.

# *What Ails Nehru?*

**According to realistic appraisals, Asians fear to oppose Communism lest the U.S. abandon them to Red vengeance. Even Nehru may be playing safe**

RODNEY GILBERT

All around the world persons who know something of Asia (or think they do, or would have it believed that they do) are submitting to anyone who will listen their diagnoses of the state of Nehru's mind. What follows are the opinions of one Indian, several Americans, one ultra-conservative Japanese and several illiberal Britishers.

From a veteran Indian journalist, well known in this country twenty-odd years ago, but probably regarded as a nasty old croaker in Nehru's India, these harsh appraisals of Nehru and Menon:

> Nehru is a man of good will gone wrong. He cheaply earned a reputation for courage by submitting to British imprisonment under ideal conditions, affording him a not unpleasant opportunity to relax, study and write a book. The fear that India will fail to justify the grant of independence, on the one hand, and the fear of Communist aggression on the other, have reduced him to abject cowardice, in which state he is disgracing India through services to Soviet policy which he hopes will buy him at least temporary immunity to direct Communist pressure.
>
> Krishna Menon is a hate-crazed maniac. For reasons which you can get from any skeleton biography of him, he is fiercely anti-white. If he believes in God, which is doubtful, he probably hates God for having him born with a brown skin. He appears to be a fervent and thoroughly mendacious apologist for every manifestation of Soviet imperial policy, whether in Europe, Asia or Africa. Yet I doubt that he is any more pro-Communist than you and I are. The Soviet Russians are white too. By playing Red whites against anti-Red whites he probably hopes that he is promoting a holocaust from which the dark-skinned will emerge intact and inherit the earth. There is your fanatical prophet of "the rising tide of color," "the yellow peril," etc.

There are notions in this bitter diagnosis which deserve consideration; but they do not explain everything.

An unheated effort to discover the actual policies of Nehru's India has been made recently in *U.S. News and World Report* (January 27) from the findings of Alvin J. Cottrell and James E. Dougherty, of the University of Pennsylvania's Foreign Policy Research Institute. The two authors do not attempt a psychiatric analysis of Nehru and his associates; they are out to discover what the policies of Nehru's India really are. They find that these policies are vociferously anti "white imperialism" and "white colonialism" —with a totally blind eye for Soviet imperialism. They are in line with congenital Hindu pacifism; but hostile also to the use of force to check Communist expansion.

The two authors make it clear that the Nehru line, propagated very vigorously in the United Nations and echoed throughout Asia and Africa by the Kremlin's devices, is of inestimable value to the Communist operators.

## *Report from Tokyo*

Conservative writers in Japan had to do a tremendous lot of thinking about Asian psychology during the years when they were promoting the "Co-Prosperity Sphere." Defeat forced them to revise their thinking on Japan's world-conquering future, but they haven't forgotten what they learned about the minds of Asiatics. According to a personal report from Tokyo on the thinking of the astute old "war criminals," their appraisal of Nehru and Company is this:

> The deferential and helpful pro-Soviet maneuvers of the Indian, Burmese and Indonesian "neutralists" is certainly cowardly; but the responsibility for such cowardice can just as certainly be traced back to Washington. At the Bandung conference, Ceylon's Sir John Kotelawala's denunciation of Sovi t imperialism, supported by two Arab spokesmen, as something far more vicious and cruel than any form of Western exploitation of Asians, was no revelation to Nehru or to any other Asian or African present.
>
> Those who did not say so agreed with that denunciation as fully as those who did. Nehru must have agreed with Sir John's every word. But then why didn't India, Burma, Indonesia and the various African nations represented come out with a resolution of agreement? Because this would have exposed them to vindictive Soviet action at some time in the future. Following Sir John's bold denunciation of Red imperialism and colonialism on behalf of Ceylon, which has no frontier with Red China or with Red-occupied Tibet, everybody wanted to know who would protect a little bordering nation that turned against Soviet imperialism. The United States of America? To this the response would certainly have been raucous laughter from some and dead-pan silence from the rest.

Asia, say the Japanese, has no confidence whatever in the continuity of a firm American anti-Red policy. Why? Because we let Chiang Kai-shek down in China. Because we backed out of Korea with a contemptible cease-fire agreement instead of throwing Red China's armies into a debacle that was within reach. Because we thereby left the R.O.K. in a state of lasting jeopardy. Because our politicians take credit for this—as a happy return on an investment of 140,000 casualties. Because we forced Chiang Kai-shek to evacuate the Tachen islands and have never published a firm promise to help defend Quemoy and the Matsu group—not for fear of anything that Red China might do, but for fear such a pledge might sound like a challenge that would not jibe with the Administration's everlasting clamor about its passion for "peace." And finally because, as everyone in Washington knows, and as all informed Asians know, there is an unrelenting effort in Washington, both diplomatic and political, to win adherents to the

doctrine that the recognition of Red China would be "realistic."

Take this personal testimony, received by mail a few days ago from a veteran Japanese news agency correspondent, who spent many years in Chinese and various other Asiatic posts before the war:

> You inquire about the changing tone of our press—the tendency to welcome advances made by Moscow and Peiping and to be less sympathetic with both Free China and the U. S. There has been such a change, not only in Japan but throughout the Far East—and as far west as India, where it is far more conspicuous than it is in Japan. This is symptomatic of a loss of confidence in the worth of American backing against the Soviet group. You won't hear such doubts voiced aloud in Taipei, Manila or Bangkok, but I am not guessing when I say that the feeling of uncertainty about American policy is growing in those places, too, and that Mr. Dulles' astonishing claims for the success of his policies in the Far East have shaken faith here in America's honesty. Before that, it was only American wisdom that was subject to doubt. You ask particularly about the press; and about that I can give you precise information. The sentiment is that, with the course of American policy so much subject to domestic political calculations, we cannot afford to be surprised if the course changes by 180 degrees overnight.

In short, any Asiatic nation that chooses sides against the Red Empire, under American auspices, does so at the serious risk of being left in the lurch. So it is not surprising that timid Asiatic nations think it wiser to divert vindictive Communist feeling from themselves—by making loud noises about "white imperialism," their commitment to pacifism and so forth—in the hope that, perhaps, before the Reds get around to them, a Western victory in World War Three will have broken the Soviet power.

That is the hard-boiled old Japanese observer's diagnosis of the psychology of the "neutralists." If his appraisal of the Asian's state of mind is anywhere near correct, it would seem that the word "cowardice" as one of Nehru's attributes is too strong. There is no reason to credit him with any high moral purpose when he consorts with scoundrels and advocates surrender to them; but maybe Nehru is just playing it safe, according to Oriental standards.

# The Resistance

***(The information in this column, transmitted by a special correspondent, comes from first-hand sources.)***

## *Still the Land of Liberty*

A small symptom can sometimes reveal much about popular feelings. When Jerzy Putrament, a member of the Polish delegation to the United Nations, returned recently from New York to Warsaw, he published a series of articles on his impressions of America. Putrament is a Communist of long standing, and his account is of course biased. However, the Spirit of Geneva still prevails in Eastern Europe, and therefore Putrament's report is not confined solely to the standard abuse and hatred. It contains some genuine information, some descriptions of American cities and of industries (including the main Ford plant); and here and there are phrases complimentary to the American people.

Putrament's story is being serialized in *Przeglad Kulturalny* ("Cultural Weekly"), and the public has shown an immediate reaction. The magazine's sales have tripled. Everybody in Poland wants to read about America. The official journal, *Nowa Kultura*, has commented with heavy irony that all of a sudden *Przeglad Kulturalny* has become a national "bestseller" — accenting the irony by using the word "bestseller" in English.

## *Moscow's Student Exchange*

At Moscow University, there are approximately six hundred special students from the captive nations, the majority Germans from East Germany. These students are the future diplomats of the satellite governments. They have all been given honorary membership in the Moscow Komsomol (Young Communist League), and take part in all of its activities. They are billeted two to a room in a special hostel, and can go out only when they are accompanied by a Soviet tutor.

Recently, all holidays and leaves of absence for this student corps were cancelled by the University authorities. This action was taken after eight German students had failed to return from their holidays, and six Czechoslovaks and five Poles had disappeared while on leave.

One of the German "deserters" has reported on the program of studies prescribed for these future diplomats. This is divided into three main groups: 1) Theory of Marxism-Leninism; 2) International Law and West European languages; 3) chemistry, engineering, technology, industrial organization. The concentration is on the third group. The destined ambassadors are taught that espionage is the soul of diplomacy, and that modern espionage requires full technical knowledge.

## *Fertile Bunnies*

During the Christmas season in Warsaw a novelty toy appeared — bunny rabbits made of grey suede, which sold like hot cakes. They were handled exclusively by the government-owned toy shop opposite the Cultural Palace. At about the same time, elegant ladies' jackets made of grey suede appeared on the black market. This sort of luxury is never found in official stores, so the police soon started an energetic investigation.

The mystery was unraveled.

The toy shop was getting the bunnies from an elderly gentleman, who made them as a hobby in his spare time. They proved such a good selling line, and turned over so fast, that the authorities allowed the elderly gentleman to buy suede from government stocks at the low, controlled price. He would buy enough for twenty bunnies, which he would make up and deliver to the shop. The next day a dozen of his friends would go to the shop, buy the bunnies and return them to the maker. The shop manager was so pleased with the popularity of his novelty item that he kept pressing for new supplies.

Our old gentleman would wait for two days and then deliver the same twenty rabbits; and would thereupon receive authorization to buy more suede from the government stock. The rabbits would be bought by a new batch of friends, and the process continued. At each delivery of the imperishable bunnies permission was given to buy more suede. And the suede, of course, was turning up as the elegant jackets in the black market.

The spirit of free enterprise is hard to kill.

# From the Academy

**RUSSELL KIRK**

## *Poor Little Wayne University*

Detroit—which an English friend of mine considers the most hideous city in America—may be the Arsenal of Democracy, but it's not strong on intellectuality. Booksellers say they starve there; and, for its great size, Detroit has remarkably few colleges. There are the University of Detroit, a vigorous Jesuit foundation, with some eight thousand students; a technical institute; two small Catholic girls' colleges; and Wayne University, the municipal establishment, now governed by the Detroit Board of Public Education. Wayne is a giant in enrollment, although many of its students attend only night classes: about 17,000 students, all told. No one, so far as I know, ever has called Wayne a good university.

But Wayne is the property of one of the richest municipal corporations in the world, and if the citizens of Detroit cared to do so, they could make it into a very decent place. They have not cared to do so, for various reasons —one, perhaps, being the lack of much intellectual attainment among the men who have run Wayne. And Wayne is expensive enough to Detroit, as matters are, enjoying annual appropriations many times the budget of the University of Detroit. Now the administrators of Wayne have been as intent upon Growth—pure, indiscriminate Growth in size of student-body and faculty and budget—as any body of university administrators in this country. Unable to persuade the city of Detroit to do much more for them, for some years they have been trying to persuade the state of Michigan to make Wayne a state university, or, at least, to subsidize it lavishly. This campaign, baffled twice in the past, now is making headway in Michigan.

Its manufacturing industries aside—and Detroit, of course, contains the bulk of those industries—Michigan is not a rich state. It has no really big cities except Detroit, and the Upper Peninsula and the upper half of the Lower Peninsula contain very little arable land deserving the name. It is a state, after all, of cut-over forest lands, lakes, swamps and little farms. So the proposal that the state government of Michigan, already very hard pressed for money and saddled with two gigantic state universities—not to mention all the teachers' colleges—should assume the heavy burden of supporting Wayne University seems a very curious proposal. If Detroit cannot pay for her own municipal university, just who in Michigan can? But such considerations do not much trouble the advocates of this scheme. They now have a very powerful ally, the most radical of state governors, Mennen Williams, who is as much in favor of taxing for taxing's sake, and of bureaucracy for bureaucracy's sake, as the Wayne administrators are in favor of Wayne's growth for growth's sake and their own sake.

The three big daily newspapers of Detroit have backed Wayne's ambitions. Civic pride is one motive, no doubt; and possibly there is another. Five special instructors at Wayne are prominent Detroit newspapermen; another is an influential retired newspaperman; and of the members of the Commission appointed by Governor Williams to draw up a plan for bringing Wayne under the sponsorship of the state, one is the editor of a Detroit paper, and another is the managing editor of a different daily.

What effectual opposition exists to this plan has come from the University of Michigan and its friends. The famous old University of Michigan is at Ann Arbor, only twenty-five miles from Detroit. Michigan has been a great university, and still is a good one, with its splendid libraries, its impressive schools of law and medicine, the distinguished names on its faculty, and a succession of famous presidents. It was the design of a man of genius, Henry Philip Tappan, the president who directed the University of Michigan in her formative years, to make Michigan a great university on the German pattern, the center and model of the whole state system of education; and though, in the century since Tappan fell from office, Michigan never has quite come up to his design, still it has been the most distinguished of all state universities.

But in recent years the influence of the University has been on the wane. Her "cow college" rival, Michigan State College, has been more the favorite of the state legislature, and now is elevated to equal dignity. The state teachers' and technical colleges, independent of the University (though subservient to the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, usually a typical NEA and public-school bureaucrat), have absorbed some of the revenues which originally were intended to support one great state university. A certain lowering of standards has been necessary at the University in order to compete with the aspirations of these annoying rivals, although the University prefers to say nothing about that sad fact. If Wayne is brought into the state system, the University is sure to be further depressed in finances and standards, and the whole level of education in Michigan will suffer, almost certainly. But no one except the administrators of the University of Michigan, and some reflective graduates, seems to care about that.

The soaring ambitions of Wayne, nevertheless, may be disappointed by a bill recently introduced into the Michigan legislature by Representative Creighton R. Coleman. The Coleman Bill, though bringing Wayne under state sponsorship, would place it in the jurisdiction of the regents of the University of Michigan. This, Representative Coleman says, would reduce "the very probable tense and fierce competition for appropriations, students and faculty." A Detroit publicist who is in the know writes me that the chief merit of this plan, "as I see it, is that the Wayne boys will immediately say 'no' when they find that they would have to go back to earning a livelihood in a legitimate field. . . . They would rather not have state control, unless *they* control." It is by such compromises and evasions, I am afraid, that our state educational systems succeed in maintaining even nominal standards of intellectuality against the zealots for the degradation of the democratic educational dogma.

# THE LAW OF THE LAND

C. DICKERMAN WILLIAMS

## *The Watkins Case*

In the recent Watkins case, the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia held: 1) If exposure is the purpose of a question asked by a congressional committee, the witness may properly refuse to answer. 2) Exposure is shown to be the purpose of a particular question asked in 1954 by reports of the same committee in earlier years that it had exposed Communists, although the hearing at which the question was asked was one of a series on a bill referred to the committee by the House of Representatives.

The holding was by a panel of three judges of the Court, headed by Judge Edgerton; Judge Bastian dissented. On February 20 the full Court, comprising eight judges, vacated the decision and announced that the case would be reconsidered at a hearing before all its eight members.

The case obviously raises important issues concerning the power of congressional investigation. These issues had been thought to have been put to rest by the Supreme Court decisions in the law suits resulting from the Teapot Dome and Daugherty investigations, but have now been reopened. Let us compare the present Watkins case with two leading cases of the 1920's, McGrain *v.* Daugherty and Sinclair *v.* United States.

The first case concerned Mally S. Daugherty, brother of Harry M. Daugherty, then Attorney General. Mally Daugherty had been called as a witness in an investigation by a Senate committee of the brother's conduct of his office, but he refused to appear. He was arrested at the resolution of the Senate. The Senate resolution providing for the investigation had referred to the Attorney General in highly critical terms, and the resolution ordering Mally Daugherty's arrest referred to the necessity of his testimony for "legislative *and other* action."

On a writ of habeas corpus, the Federal Court at Cincinnati released Mally Daugherty. From "the extreme personal cast of the original resolutions; the spirit of hostility towards the then Attorney General which they breathe; that it was not avowed that legislative action was had in view until after the action of the Senate had been challenged; and that the avowal then was coupled with an avowal that other action was had in view" the Court concluded that the "purpose [was] to impeach Harry M. Daugherty at the bar of public opinion," i.e., expose him. This was beyond the power of the Senate, the Court said. Hence the Senate could not require the testimony of Mally S. Daugherty.

The Supreme Court reversed. The investigation was in a field of legitimate congressional interest because the "powers and duties of the Attorney General . . . are subject to regulation by congressional legislation," the higher Court asserted. The Senate was therefore entitled to the facts irrespective of the effect upon Daugherty's reputation.

In the Sinclair case, two years later, a Senate committee questioned Harry F. Sinclair, the oil magnate, concerning the Teapot Dome lease. He refused to answer on the ground that the Government had brought suits to cancel the lease. It was Sinclair's theory that the questions were being asked to aid the Government in those suits. The Federal Court in the District of Columbia convicted Sinclair of contempt of Congress and sentenced him to three months imprisonment. The Supreme Court upheld the conviction. The Committee, it was held, had power to ask the question because it related to the public lands of the United States and, conceding that Congress had no power to inquire in aid of the suits brought to cancel the lease, the congressional power was "not abridged because the information sought to be elicited may also be of use in such suits."

Thus in these two cases the Court applied a single test, *viz.*, did the question relate to a subject upon which Congress had power to legislate? If so, the question was proper and the fact that the information might have importance in other connections was irrelevant to the witness' duty to answer.

In the Watkins case there was no doubt that the question related to a subject within the congressional power of regulation, *viz.*, Communist infiltration of labor unions. The bill upon which the hearing was held subsequently was enacted into law.

According to Judge Edgerton's opinion, Congress has no power of exposure because it has no "powers of law enforcement."

This is a most remarkable and sweeping conclusion. Judge Edgerton reached it without explanation and without citation of authority. It disregards the view of such eminent political scientists as John Stuart Mill, Woodrow Wilson and others that publicity is an essential element of the legislative process. Legislation cannot be enacted without the support of public opinion, and lacking information, public opinion is without the basis to provide support. The relationship between publicity, or exposure, and legislation as a matter of political science I shall examine in another article.

As a matter of law, Judge Edgerton's opinion is hard to reconcile with the Daugherty case. Certainly in that case the factor of exposure, as such, was far greater, and the factor of contemplated legislation far less, than in the Watkins case. And in the Sinclair case there was an obvious and immediate use for the information in connection with specific law enforcement proceedings then pending; it had no relation to a pending bill.

Judge Edgerton's view that the purpose of the questions was shown to be exposure by published reports of the Committee relating to previous investigations seems equally remarkable. Does the assumption by a congressional committee that it has a power and duty of exposure vitiate all its future inquiries, even if they relate to pending bills? If not, how is the Committee's motive to be determined? And when, as is probably the usual case, a committee asks a question with mixed motives, *i.e.*, partly to inform itself and partly to inform the public, is refusal warranted? Or must

(*Continued on p.* 30)

# ARTS and MANNERS

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

### *Should TV Addicts Vote?*

The definitive importance of TV may be that it will invalidate the concept of universal suffrage.

This notion, I realize, is contrary to just about everything our certified "sociologists" have so far remarked on that electronic horror. They have waxed hymnical about TV's unlimited promise as a medium of catholic information. They were exuberant about the uplift of general human experience, thanks to the omnipresence of TV. And they were serene (as "sociologists" — incorrigible believers in Progress — always are) about the growth of TV-fed intelligence. That dangerous bore, "the common man," was on his way to sophistication. He would, we were told, for the first time really know what he was voting about, from a new day-by-day familiarity with the time and the place of his destiny.

This was, quite unanimously, the insight of our learned trend-spotters *in re* TV. They may have, occasionally, felt some misgivings in matters of taste. Some thought there was too much violence on the TV screen; and some thought, on the contrary, there was not enough Edward R. Murrow. But, by and large, the consensus remained that, at least in terms of civic sophistication, TV was bound to be slightly utopian.

I have looked at TV, off and on, for the last six years; and I am ready to submit a minority report. To wit: the TV audience, to the extent that it *is* a devoted and responsive TV audience, is becoming disqualified for communal affairs. In a few years, serious students of politics will have to advise, I am afraid, that regular exposure to TV ought to cost a person his franchise as a voter. And here are my reasons.

Whatever the moral justification of universal suffrage may be (and sometimes I wonder), its *psychological* rationale is the axiom that every sane and non-criminal person is capable of grasping the reality that surrounds him. The most irresponsible Benthamite would not dare say that the greatest number of people constitutes, by virtue of number, the closest approach to truth; but he would assert that the greatest number of people is indeed the most dependable source of information on what is good for the greatest number of people. And not just "good for them" in the sense of subjective whim and preference, but "really" good for them in the sense of objective improvement.

The assumption, in other words, was that a growing sense of reality would enhance the average man's capacity for choosing adequately; and *vice versa*. Had the early and passionate proponents of universal suffrage so much as conceived of the possibility that man might *lose* his sense of reality, they could not possibly have advocated their panacea.

Now the point I am trying to make is that TV consistently atrophies man's sense of reality; that it drowns him, slowly and almost imperceptibly, in a mire of fictional pap; that it caters to the insatiable child in man who craves the gooey lollypop any time, in preference to the lean texture of real bread. TV, in a word, anesthetizes man against place and time and destiny. To the extent that man is satiated with TV, he is drained of any capacity to respond to reality.

### *How Funny Is a Black Mass?*

Three hours I spent the other day in front of a TV set will illustrate my point. It was not a preconditioned experiment. I didn't want to prove anything at all. I just turned the knob, on a Thursday night, to get the best I could gather. And this is what I got:

1. *Dragnet.* The notorious "we-just-want-the-facts-ma'am" show that pretends to document the hard life of our police forces. On that Thursday, Sergeant Joe Friday was subduing a crazed father who threatened to kill his two little boys. The whole thing was soaked with the phony drama and even phonier compassion of soap opera.

2. *Climax!* A one-hour show dedicated to the pursuit of kicks. On that Thursday, a priest was going to die in the electric chair, for the murder of a love-crazed girl, rather than betray the confession of the bum who really had done her in. The whole thing about as wholesome as a lecher at a confirmation; and as meaningful as a telephone directory set to music.

3. *Racket Squad.* A weekly program dedicated to the proposition that, for every sucker who is born per minute, two rascals are born to do him in. The only constructive effect this show could possibly have is to teach young and ambitious con-men how to get ahead in their chosen profession.

And so it went. When news time came, at eleven P.M., I didn't believe a single word the handsome newscaster said, even though he was sponsored by a reputable and solvent automobile manufacturer. Nobody was going to tell me that the huckster had no ulterior purpose. He was, obviously, after my money, my faith, my unborn children. There was something darned fishy about that sudden intrusion of so-called reality. I had lived for three hours in a murky world of thick schemes, two-dimensional motivations, and the crooked romance of a Black Mass.

Now as it happens I am slightly below the emotional level of the average man, and it takes considerably more than three or four TV plots to put me in any kind of mood (except nausea). But let no one take consolation from this and perhaps suggest that most people are much too sensible to react to TV in any fashion at all! If this were true, people would stop looking at TV, which, unless it *means* something to the onlooker, is excruciatingly boring. Yet the time people spend weekly in front of their TV sets has *not* gone down (as was optimistically promised by some wiseacres years ago). TV has become more habit-forming than any other narcotic known to our degenerate civilization.

No, average man slowly sinks into pap, snobbish wish-fulfilment, cheap kicks and mendacious sentiment. He may contemptuously laugh at TV's effect on him when queried in public polls. I don't believe him. His private center of gravity, I am afraid, has switched to the fake fiction of TV, away from reality. And I am full of fears when I think of a world administered by the vote of TV-fed, fiction-drunk Common Man.

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# BOOKS IN REVIEW

## A Few Stray Gleams

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Since *The Making of Charles A. Beard* (Exposition Press, $3), by Mary Ritter Beard, is such a slight and unpretentious book, one hesitates to bring any large-calibre critical guns to bear on its deficiencies. In offering the work as an "interpretation" of her late husband, Mrs. Beard was obviously under wraps: this is not the story of a famous man-and-wife writing team, it is not the story of a long and happy marriage, it is not the story of how a great personality changed over the years as untoward historical events gnawed away at the foundations of his youthful opinions. All that we get here is some rather perfunctorily displayed biographical data bearing on Beard's early education and travels, plus some quoted material by Japanese and Yugoslav friends and an essay on "Beard as a Teacher" by Arthur W. Macmahon. While there are stray gleams worth having, the "interpretation" explores little and illuminates less.

What one guesses from the reticence of Mrs. Beard's own contribution to the volume is an unwillingness to let Charles A. Beard confront himself. The unwillingness is understandable, but Mary Beard need offer no apology for the fact that her husband was sometimes inconsistent. As he grew older and wiser, "Uncle Charlie" changed in many ways, in emphasis if not in fundamental philosophy. Indeed, the man who stressed the economic interpretation of history as a young man shifted almost entirely to the moral interpretation before his untimely death. Since Beard was never a Marxian determinist (he called himself a Madisonian), the ability to jump from the material to the moral does not necessarily imply any basic lack of resolution. Beard always saw history as a process of interaction, with the moral shaping and material, and the material offering recalcitrances which, in turn, either blunted or sharpened the moral. Nevertheless, there must be many an interesting story behind the Beardian shifts in emphasis, and it is extremely disappointing to discover that nothing of importance on the subject is offered here.

The best thing in the book is the Macmahon study of Beard's pedagogical career at Columbia University and as a universally licensed teacher-at-large. Beard evidently used a calculated ambivalence, a rapid alternation of moods, as a Socratic prod to stir up sleepy minds. Sometimes he was the economic determinist who talked about "vast cumulative forces," at other times he was the ardent or indignant idealist. Says Macmahon, "part of the excitement of his teaching lay in this almost gusty shift of viewpoint and change of pace."

Another thing which attracted students to "Uncle Charlie" was his complete indifference to academic punctilio or administrative favor. Such things as tenure and advancement meant nothing to Beard; he was a living embodiment of the freedom which comes to anybody who is willing to go out of office or out of style without complaining to the high heavens that an injustice has been done. Like Winston Churchill, Beard always knew he could do something else if events were to unhorse him, or retire him, at any particular moment in time. Said Beard: "As long as there is corn in Indiana and hogs to eat the corn, Charlie Beard will bow to no man." Incidentally, this attitude should be an object lesson to the modern breed of professor who sits around the faculty club matching horror stories about "McCarthyism": the free man's freedom comes from a blithe unconcern about what his "enemy" may be doing or saying.

Mr. Macmahon's remarks on Beard's "gusty shift of viewpoint" might be applied to the Beardian career as a historian. But Mary Beard does not choose to apply it. The big question remains: how could Beard have led a whole generation of historians astray into the woods of determinism when he himself had such a sure hold on the values which went into the making of the American Republic? I remember putting this question to him during the course of a visit to his farm at New Milford, Connecticut. But in raising the question I carelessly misquoted a Beardian title, making it "*The* Economic Interpretation of the Constitution" (italics mine) instead of "*An* Economic Interpretation of the Constitution." Beard leaped on the mistake. "I called it '*An* Economic Interpretation,'" he said, "because there are obviously other interpretations. Nobody says there are not. But when I wrote that book nobody had paid attention to the fact that vested interests of trade, shipping and public securities originated and carried through the Constitution. The economic perspective is a valid perspective. It does not mean that the ideas of the Founders on the art of government were negligible. Far from it. But when history is being written, *all* of history should be there."

This was all that Beard said, and I lacked the nerve to trifle further with the flash of his eyes, which have suggested an eagle to more than one observer. In later years Beard got around to a moral interpretation of the Constitution in a noteworthy book on the American Republic which Henry Luce, no Hegelian determinist, saw fit to serialize. But if Beard ever felt contrite about the influence which his original work had in furthering

the economic determinism of many a self-proclaimed Beardian "disciple," he never said so in public. I would dearly like to know if he ever said anything about the subject to Mary Beard in private. No man is to blame for what shallow people may make of him in a first attempt at unravelling, but when the mistakes persist something should be done about clearing them up. Since Beard was a most perceptive man, he must have reflected on the irony of his own influence. And he must have said something about it somewhere, sometime.

The good book about Charles A. Beard remains to be written. It will point out that the author of *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* was a convinced extoller of the wisdom embodied in *The Federalist Papers*. It will stress the Beardian passion for truth and the Beardian concern for the fulfillment of individuals. But it will also remark upon Beard's part in unloosing the fallacies of the Hegelian dialectic upon these shores. It will let Charles Beard confront himself. The confrontation will be a Socratic dialogue worthy of the master. And Beard, unpretentious Hoosier that he was, will chuckle in Heaven when he reads that dialogue to himself.

## Lyric and Precise

**The Shadow of My Hand,** by Holger Cahill. 409 pp. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. $4.95

City slickers—*i.e.*, all those people who have only a spectator relationship to the wind and the rain, whose economic well-being has never depended on the sun and the soil, and who have a congenital distaste for life that goes on without benefit of an inorganic layer of concrete between the earth and their feet—should probably be warned: Mr. Cahill has written a novel about some contemporary Dakota farmers whom they would call "hicks"; for whom Mr. Ed Murrow would feel sorry; but whose fortunes at least one reader has followed with delight, gratitude, reverence and a renovated complement of sensory organs.

This wide world is full of people, places and things which—like the fairy-tale princess sleeping in her thorn-covered tower—lie under a wicked enchantment. They appear commonplace, uninteresting, unimportant. But sooner or later a poet comes along, and because he loves them, awakens their beauty and reveals it to us all.

I cannot think, offhand, of another book that has awakened the dormant beauty of American farmland—the plowed fields, animal husbandry, summer harvesting and the ineluctable play of seasonal change in earth and sky—more vividly than this one. Lyric description can cloy very soon, and only precise observation by someone who knows and loves what he is looking at can bring it off.

Mr. Cahill's evocations of prairie flatness, spring sunlight, dawn winds; of newly turned earth under foot, of the feel and smell and delicate satisfaction of milking a cow; of a hayloft, a barnyard, a kitchen garden, a wheat field under moonlight; better still, of the subtly varying textures of social intercourse at Saturday night square dances, in the hotel bar, in the veterinarian's office, and along the Main Street of a small, rural Midwestern community; these are, for me, as definitive as Sarah Orne Jewett's evocations of life on the Maine coast. There is more involved here than in the so-called American "regional writing" of, say, Hamlin Garland, who writes about the same part of the country. There is recovery of certain heretofore "invisible" aspects of human experience, preserved in exact, un-self-infatuated language.

But this is only the background that Mr. Cahill's novel works with. In his story of a young soldier who comes back to his home town to make a vocation of farming, he is also writing about the most important subject I know: love. Not only the sort of passion that attracts two people, but all the other sorts Christ had in mind when He said, "The Kingdom of Heaven is within you."

The most curious thing about most of the high-handed philosophy of the past two centuries (dialectical materialism being only the coarsest and most simple-minded) is that it ignores the homely fact that all human beings are born with the ability to love; moreover, to love gratuitously, for the sake of loving.

For any number of reasons, this ability is underdeveloped or otherwise misused in most of us. But it is always there, waiting as surely as the physical heart with which we irrationally and unscientifically identify it; and *The Shadow of My Hand* is a pastoral in praise of its tireless, miraculous presence. ROBERT PHELPS

## Novel Adventure

**Must You Conform?,** by Robert Lindner. 210 pp. New York: Rinehart and Company. $3.00

Some "conservatives" would so far out-conserve Russell Kirk that they would never change anything—except perhaps the weather.

Robert Lindner is not one of them. His new book, *Must You Conform?,* offers a vigorous antidote to an ossified conservatism, which is a sort of third dimension of conformism.

The author, a renowned psychoanalyst of wide experience, would conserve nothing merely because it now exists. Nor would he conform to anything just because it is the mass mode.

"Take nothing for granted—find out!" he advises. Personally, I wish he had taken the space used for the second chapter on homosexuality to explain how he would "find out" anything beyond his own direct experience; what things he would conserve, and on what sort of evidence. I believe he could give a solid answer, because of the admiration he shows for the work of E. W. Sinnott, Dean of the Graduate School at Yale University, who wrote *Two Roads to Truth* and *The Biology of the Spirit.*

The book makes a valuable contribution to thinking about the psychological basis for the world rush into collectivism. "The world, in short, has run amuck," he says. What has happened, as Dr. Lindner sees it, is that the contagion of conformity has collided with the biological nature of man, creating numberless psychopaths among us. Among the agencies of conformity, he points an accusing finger at the schools: "*You must adjust* . . . This is the legend imprinted in every schoolbook, the invisible message on every blackboard. Our schools have become vast factories for the manufacture of robots."

As the social pressure to conform meets the irresistible innate pressure of biological variation, the diseased

victims have found the political pot an enticing receptacle for their neuroses. Communism, molded by Hegel, Marx, Lenin and Stalin, is one such pot. Though the rank and file are neurotics, the leaders are psychopaths; and the Fascist leaders were psychopaths, too. Communism and Fascism, he thinks, are alike psychologically, once the actual, open struggle for political power gets under way. The Leader, himself necessarily a psychopath, ruthlessly pursues power for the mere sake of power.

What now threatens to destroy our civilization, then, is a world-unitary neurosis beyond the direct reach of any one person, concentrated in the horror we now behold and endure. It enmeshes more and more innocent victims, and creates, inter alia, what we call the "youth problem."

Lindner is deeply concerned but not entirely without hope. He suggests that the energies and hopes of youth can be detonated in non-destructive ways by affirming the right of protest and of harmless forms of unique individuality—"in an abiding faith that only in these ways will [the individual] . . . discover himself and the true vocation of his life."

Lindner is, however, by no means dogmatically certain about the cure. At the conclusion of the book he says: "About how to turn this tide I, for one, have only the vaguest ideas. The pedagogy of freedom is a novel adventure for the mind . . ."

F. A. HARPER

## Solid Achievement

**Edmund Burke, New York Agent** (with his letters to the New York Assembly and intimate correspondence with Charles O'Hara), by Ross J. S. Hoffman. 632 pp. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society. $6.50

A very silly quibble is carried on in every decade, by persons who ought to know better, as to why "Burke favored the American Revolution and opposed the French Revolution." In plain fact, Burke never favored any revolution, except for that of 1688, which he considered a "revolution not made, but prevented."

Burke's real view of American affairs on the eve of 1775 is made clear in Professor Hoffman's long and very readable introduction to this solid achievement in scholarship. The American colonies contained virtually no real Tories, at any time: there were only conservative Whigs and radical Whigs. When the Revolution broke out, the label "Tory" was affixed by the radicals to their moderate opponents, like Burke's friends the Delanceys of New York. Burke himself, a Rockingham Whig and therefore (and by his principles and his nature) an advocate of prudence and conciliation, profoundly regretted the coming of the Revolution. He did what he could—and that was not a little—to stave it off. But, as Dr. Hoffman shows, he was always an Englishman, never an American; and Americans who took him for the champion of the radical doctrine of the rights of man were altogether mistaken.

His letters as agent for New York were unknown until six years ago, and now are published for the first time. They are the business correspondence of a rising political adventurer endowed with genius and schooled in high principle: a man rather haughty, reserved in communication, trustworthy, and immensely busy. In the same volume, Professor Hoffman has published a correspondence even more valuable, the letters exchanged between Burke and Charles O'Hara, "The O'Hara" of Sligo, between 1761 and 1775. Until very recently, no one knew anything about Charles O'Hara (I once accompanied Dr. Hoffman in a vain search for O'Hara's grave in the desolate churchyard of St. Anne's, Dublin). But O'Hara, place-holder, politician, and great proprietor, meant a great deal to the young Burke, for the relationship between them was almost that of an uncle and a nephew.

Burke's letters to this friend are more revealing of his character in undress than anything already known about Burke, or likely to be known. Political intrigue mingles with family concerns and agricultural notes, and we see the versatile young man of letters and political secretary, destined to become the greatest of British political philosophers, as he appeared to his early friends: ambitious, affectionate, full of speculations, intensely conservative, very Irish, and yet the heir and guardian of English intellect and English institutions. No good and thorough biography of Burke has yet been written; and this is well, for Burke could not be properly understood without a diligent reading of this correspondence.

Burke's correspondence, in many volumes, will be published during the next ten years; a whole colony of American scholars is now at work upon the project in Sheffield Public Library. And it is fitting that Americans should assume the leadership in this undertaking; for Burke, though he never saw America, influenced immeasurably the minds of thinking Americans. It is fitting too that Professor Hoffman, an American historian of the first rank, should give us this big and valuable study, worthy of its subject. Lord Acton once observed that "history begins with Burke"—that is, modern historical writing was released from its eighteenth-century confines by Burke. Professor Herbert Butterfield reaffirms this judgment.

"Burke? He's dead, isn't he?" some-


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one at a club said to Paul Elmer More fifty years ago. No, he's not dead yet —not while scholars like Dr. Hoffman draw from him their inspiration.

RUSSELL KIRK

## Stark "Morality"

**Winter Harvest,** by Norah Lofts. Introduction by Stewart H. Holbrook. 347 pp. New York: Doubleday & Company. $3.95

*Winter Harvest* is a novel told in the voice of a "documentary." It is good reading, written in an effective style, and given focus by the relation of the story to the historical tragedy of the Donner Party. In the Introduction, Stewart Holbrook relates enough of the historical facts to justify the fiction:

"The actual Donner Party gathered in April of 1846 on the edge of the frontier in Missouri. More than a year later forty survivors of the eighty-seven members of it reached Sutter's Fort in California. The others died most horribly on the trail. During that twelvemonth these men and women suffered all of the rigors and misfortunes that were almost conventional with covered wagon trains, then they passed on to such tragedies as to set them apart from all immigrants, before or since."

It is an unexpected theme for an English woman writer of Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, which is flat, damp, calm, and a long way from Route 40. Norah Lofts is an experienced author of generally richer popular fiction. A year ago *Bless This House,* about "Merravay — a stately house, a beautiful house, a poem built not with words," was her successful book, doing very well. This contrasting new novel is conceived as a bare and stark "morality." Begun during the bombardment of London, it seeks across an ocean and a continent and a century for a certain type of battle against circumstances, and a vision of the "nobility and bestiality of which human nature is capable."

As a "morality," the book is straightforward and all right, but is not surprisingly profound or new. The twenty-two members of the fictional "Furmage Party," who met their Sierra Pass disastrously after the snows came, are not as subtly selected or interestingly matured a group as the one Thornton Wilder took to the Bridge of San Luis Rey. They are too few to strike even the average of normality of the real Donner Party, which was four times larger. Their past lives, whose telling takes a third of the book, are unreal, and have to be subjected to rather lurid and conventional "typing" before the trip begins. Not that such a wagon train would have been inhabited by a very likely group of characters; but these five wagons seem laden with an average of melodramatic "pasts."

The people's behavior on the route, moreover, and in the extremes of their freezing and starving and lostness, is convincing and natural in a way that contrasts sharply with the earlier histories. The action within the present time limits of the novel — the simple story of the trip across the plain and desert and mountain — is told well, with an even sympathy and with professional expertness. The westward motion of the covered wagon lifts up the lives of the characters to great specific interest, and as the mountains rise before them, to something approaching universal interest.

It is the story-telling, more than the lesson, or history, or psychology, that wins the reader of *Winter Harvest.* The author makes little effort to give a picture of the country. The book does not depend upon frontier society, or on the beauty and hypnotic attraction of the uninhabited mountain West. What the author obviously misses in the setting is largely compensated for by the resulting focus upon the undecorated action of the men and women, on their journey.

We know from history how far the immigrants went; but, again, there is suspense and shock and, finally, a kind of inner recognition, experienced as we sometimes do experience things in a novel, of how far.

PHILIP BURNHAM


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## Chiefly Gossip

**Lupescu,** by Alice-Leone Moats. 220 pp. New York: Henry Holt and Company. $3.50

This volume will enable a sufficiently credulous reader to speak with authority about everything from the late King Carol's performance in bed to the political corruption which, we are told, so weakened Rumania that she was unable to resist the combined forces of Germany and Russia in 1940. Some of the gossip collected in these pages may well be true, but the author writes of the King and the King's mistress with ill-concealed animosity, holds the provincial notion that monarchy is just a "stupendous hoax," and shows no awareness of the deep-rooted and almost feudal Rumanian culture that I have seen ably portrayed in the yet unpublished memoirs of the Princess Cantacuzene.

R.P.O.

## Point of No Return

**As I Remember It: Some Epilogues in Recollection,** by James Branch Cabell. 243 pp. New York: The McBride Company. $3.75

Here in his own style, perhaps a little more mannered and intricate than of old, but retaining all the charms of unfailing urbanity and compassionate irony, the creator of the timeless world of Poictesme writes with graceful candor of his wives, his literary friends, and his own career. With the serene detachment that distinguishes his romances and may make of them the most enduring literary monument erected by an American in this century, Cabell remarks in passing that this is probably the last book that he will live to complete. If that is so, the reader will in these pages take leave of a great artist and a gallant gentleman.

R.P.O.

# To the Editor

### *From Senator Bridges*

I have read with interest your new publication, NATIONAL REVIEW. The articles are thought-provoking and refreshing and your factual presentations of controversial subjects fill a long-standing need in this country.

I wish you success.

STYLES BRIDGES
Chairman, Republican Policy Committee, U.S. Senate
*Washington, D.C.*

### *A Correction*

Through a typographical error, the key line in my article "Can Anyone Strike Back?" [March 7] reads: "After all we can strike the first blow." It should be: "After all we *can't* strike the first blow."

I hope too many readers were not mystified by this, because the balance of the article answers this question: The enemy has *already* struck the first blow, and therefore the only remaining question is whether we want to win this war, and if so, how and when.

*Milwaukee, Wis.* ANTHONY T. BOUSCAREN

### *Mr. Rovere Objects*

In the February 22 issue of NATIONAL REVIEW, you say: "Richard H. Rovere, recently, in *Harper's*, and not for the first time, expressed his horror at secret informers."

I take it you had in mind a piece of mine called "The Kept Witnesses." In that piece, I spent a good deal of time trying to make it plain that I was *not* discussing informers, secret or otherwise. I was writing about witnesses, whose identity is never secret and whose role — even though they are on occasion the same people — is entirely distinct from that of informers. I said that the informer "may sometimes be called as a witness, just as the paid witness may sometimes be used as an informer, but generally speaking the functions are separate, and the witness enters upon the scene only when the work of the informer is done. It has long been recognized that the maintenance of order in a society such as ours requires the use of paid informers, but the professional witness up to now has made an appearance only as the creature of disreputable law firms and private detective agencies and of certain businesses, reputable except in this particular, which are frequently engaged in litigation." (I had in mind, of course, insurance companies.)

I expressed no horror at secret informers because in fact I have none to express. I do not hold some of the more prominent of the non-secret informers in such admiration as you appear to, but that is very different from viewing them with "horror." The only point I have ever made about secret informers is that the agencies that use them should employ all their resources to make sure that the information they receive from them is reliable. . . .

I bring this up not to provoke a quarrel but because I think NATIONAL REVIEW would be a more interesting and more helpful magazine if it made a greater effort to represent its adversaries fairly. . . . I would be a little more impressed with your challenge to comment on the Hughes case (on which I most certainly intend to write) if I found you representing your antagonists fairly and accurately.

*Hyde Park, N.Y.* RICHARD H. ROVERE

(We seem to have misunderstood Mr. Rovere's position on the use of informers, which we regret, and we are glad to give him this chance to state it.

We find it curious that Mr. Rovere, going so long a way round to make his correction of a single sentence that had minor significance in its context, keeps so carefully away from the main point. What does he think about the Hughes case? Surely he is not suggesting, by his distinction between secret informers and kept witnesses, that the Hughes case is outside his normal range of interest. Why this still unbroken silence on Hughes—shared, so far as we can determine, by all other journalistic specialists in "anti-McCarthyism"? We are delighted to learn that Mr. Rovere "intends" to write on the Hughes case; and we hope that his intention will translate itself into action before the decade is out. If he is having difficulty placing his remarks on Hughes, we shall be glad to publish them.—THE EDITORS)

### *"Hitting Where It Hurts"*

The REVIEW is in every way superb; it comes like an answer to prayer. All those concerned in the enterprise deserve medals. I, for one, am especially pleased with the weekly rundown on what the "liberals" and leftists are doing—as in Mr. Kendall's excellent page of comment. The review section is tiptop. The special articles are fine — they are hitting where it hurts the opposition . . . It's all what we have been needing these many years—for decades, in fact. You are well on the way to changing the political-social scenery.

*Nashville, Tenn.* DONALD DAVIDSON

### *The Typographical Union*

I was jolted in reading your February 8 editorial concerning the "form" letter from . . . the Typographical Union #6. I have been an ardent admirer and constant reader of your scintillating publication. Ethically, I can do so no longer. . . .

Suppose I had to seek employment with your "little job printer" whose employees are "pleased with the management" and have higher pay than the TU insists on. Well, I'd have to sacrifice a pension, insurance benefits, and the availability of the union home. . . .

*Dorchester, Mass.* GEORGE A. MAGEE

### *Burgess-Maclean Conference*

I should like to suggest that your "correct explanation" of the Burgess-Maclean Moscow press conference underrated both Western credulity and Soviet confidence in the proven ability of the Communist propagandists to manipulate Western public opinion. In your editorial of February 29 you surmise that the Soviets staged this charade to impress us with their power to subvert our "most trusted servitors."

On the contrary, I think that Khrushchev and Co. expected us actually to take the word of these two . . . that they never had been espionage agents.

After all, most of the West believed in the "Spirit of Geneva." Most Western Liberals believed — and no doubt still believe — that Alger Hiss was innocent. Herbert Evatt believed Mos-

cow's denial of Soviet espionage in Australia. . . . Why should Khrushchev think there is any limit to the Western appetite for sucker bait?

As to the timing, it was in my opinion, an effort to quash the investigation demanded by General MacArthur of the leakage of Korean War secrets.

Why shouldn't a lot of gullibles prefer to believe Burgess and Maclean on this matter? It's two against one, isn't it?

MONTGOMERY M. GREEN
*Havre De Grace, Md.*

***Socialism in India***

. . . Another bulls-eye is "Taxmanship in India" [February 29]. I have traveled and lived in various parts of the Indian subcontinent . . . and, knowing what is going on in Nehru's India at this moment, this editorial makes complete sense. . . .

Since 1947, the Indian Government has nationalized its railway and air lines, and also all forms of intercity bus and freight traffic, banks and now life insurance companies . . . . I am firmly convinced that only some form of a political miracle can save India from Communism. . . .

*Latham, N.Y.* MATTHEW A. FLANNERY

***Cure for Depression***

For the last five years I have been doing research for the *Spotlight,* an American Legion paper. I have read investigating committee reports of tne last ten years and all the anti-Communist literature that I can find. This has been all very depressing for me until I received your magazine, NATIONAL REVIEW. Now my husband has more hope for me because when I read your articles I sit and laugh out loud — especially the article about the termites. . . .

*Dewitt, N.Y.* MARJORIE MCHALE

***Hits Targets***

May I particularly cite my appreciation of William S. Schlamm's "Arts and Manners"? He hits his targets with great finesse.

I only wish that more of the music, book, motion picture and drama critics could digest his reviews; particularly those who see such greatness in the Rogerses and Hammersteins, the Nelson Algrens and Herman Shumlins.

*Park Ridge, Ill.* BEA VON BOESELAGER

***Prelude to China's Fall***

In the *New York Herald Tribune* of December 26 the London Bureau head, Don Cook, said:

> So the Egyptians . . . . agreed to take the diesel-electrics [from the U.S.] . . . . but when the bids closed it was found that they had not been distributed widely enough under the law. So the bids were canceled and the contract reopened. The same thing happened a second time. . . . Meanwhile the Hungarians entered the picture with an offer to supply locomotives in a cotton-barter deal. Less than three weeks ago the Egyptians announced that they were obtaining eighty locomotives from Hungary—no strings attached, no argument over specifications, and a chance to unload surplus cotton.

Overlooking Don Cook's egghead economics, and presuming his facts accurate, I was reminded of another American aid mission to Asia that spent other millions scoring goose-eggs.

I was in Nanking, then capital of China, in November 1946. . . . I was quartered in a U.S. Army hostel, which consisted of one of Nanking's hotels taken over . . . by our Army training mission. This particular "hostel" was for officers, their wives, children and servants.

In the days that I was there . . . I really got an earful of what was wrong with the Chinese. In my thirty years of peacetime and wartime travel in China I had never realized how bad it was. No one of the officers seemed to have served with the Chinese forces during the war, nor to have been with the troops in the field since. Their observations seemed to have been limited to Shanghai and Nanking.

Like Don Cook's description of our representatives' job in Egypt, their hearts seemed not to be in their work. Like Cook's description of the Egypt job, their mission was a flop. The few tens of millions they wasted in Nanking were not important. Their job failure helped produce the fall of China to the Communists, the Korean War, the disaster in Indo-China, and the history of the Far East still in the making.

Whether these men were selected for their job because of their attitude, or in spite of it, I do not know. Their superiors in Washington, who placed the embargo on ammunition and spare parts, and dumped China's reserves in the Indian Ocean, or blew them up in Indian dumps, may have preferred their "leaning over backwards" objectivity. Maybe our "experts" in Egypt are selected in the same way.

I sincerely hope that NATIONAL REVIEW continues to grow until the eightieth Hungarian locomotive is delivered to Egypt.

*New York City* ALFRED KOHLBERG

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THE LAW OF THE LAND

(*Continued from p. 23*)

some proportion of motivation be worked out to justify a question, say 75 per cent for the Committee's information and 25 per cent for the information of the public? Can a committee's motivation be taken as a whole? Suppose a single member's motive is exposure only. Judge Edgerton's opinion raises but does not answer such questions.

It is not without significance that Judge Edgerton is perhaps the most intense Liberal on the lower federal courts. Before he became a judge, he taught law. His outstanding work of legal scholarship was an elaborate article in which, ironically enough, he condemned judicial interference with Congress; his primary ground was that the beneficiaries of such interference were unworthy people, *viz.,* "smugglers," an "exploiter of prostitutes," "activities which cannot be carried on without money," "illicit liquor dealers," "office-holders and lawyers," "receivers of stolen goods," "business." ("The Incidence of Judicial Control of Congress," *Cornell Law Quarterly,* May 1937.) Judge Edgerton had devoted himself to this article off and on for fourteen years. He was appointed to the bench in the year following its publication. That he should be the author of an opinion such as that in the Watkins case sharply illustrates the reversal in the Liberal attitude towards public information *via* congressional investigation that has taken place since the 1930's.

Judge Edgerton's distaste for exposure also corresponds with Liberal enthusiasm for use of the Fifth Amendment—it is, in short, further evidence of the cult of concealment now sweeping the Liberal community. The implications and consequences of this cult I shall consider in a later article.

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